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THE LONDON QUARTERLY REVIEW

JANUARY, 1927

DR. BABBITT AND VITAL CONTROL

THE noisy, undisciplined voices of the crowd make it hard to hear the voices of the best men. But the secrets of persistence belong to the best voices. And when the tumult and the shouting dies away, serene and clear arise those rich and disciplined voices which hold in their cadences the secrets of the wisdom of the race. The noisy versatility of fourth-century Athens scarcely suggested to the quick-moving traveller, even if he possessed an observant eye, the pure lofty heights of the Platonic idealism. The intense and bitter struggles of the thirteenth century hardly prepared even a friendly mind for the poised and balanced thinking of the *Summa* of Saint Thomas. And so, on a smaller scale, the land of Mr. Sinclair Lewis's *Babbitt*, in its aspects of crass efficiency and untutored emotion, seems far enough from the restrained and closely reined energy of that master of easily and firmly carried erudition, Dr. Irving Babbitt, Professor of French Literature at Harvard University. Yet long after the crude ways of certain noisy captains of industry are forgotten, and weary Europe has rest from the type of tourist who carelessly flutters by with no priceless memories of the past and no wistful hopes for the future, it will doubtless be remembered of the United States of America, in the first quarter of the twentieth century, that it was capable of producing a mind reproducing the very cadences of the great old voices through qualities of memory which only the ripest culture gives, and submitting contemporary life and thought to tests of

searching criticism of which only the sharpest instruments are capable, and expressing the results of its analysis in language of a simple muscular strength whose easy, vital movement half hid the firmness of its texture, and out of its own clear and sunlit depths emitted a certain brightness of illumination. I suppose we all want to be judged by our best men, and so perhaps I may be pardoned for calling the attention of readers, who already I trust know the expression of the far-ranging mind of Paul Elmer More in the Shelburne Essays, to the really consummate critical achievement of Dr. Irving Babbitt.

It is not without significance that Professor Babbitt, who was born August 2, 1865, first saw the light in the little city of Dayton, Ohio, in the very heart of the Middle West. For in the Middle West, if anywhere, is that Main Street which Mr. Sinclair Lewis satirizes and oddly loves while he lashes. There is another side of Main Street which Mr. Lewis, with his friendly instinct for crudity, has never seen, and in one of the houses on the other side of the street Dr. Irving Babbitt must have been born. Those who suppose that in America only the Brahmin caste of New England is capable of producing minds of seminal and searching quality have cause for reflection in the fact that the Middle West has given to America the instrument of thought which has produced the finished and nobly sophisticated criticism which has come from the pen of Professor Babbitt. To be sure, Harvard Yard had its share in his equipment, and Paris laid its hand upon a mind which must have been already subtly sensitive and responsive. And, of course, all the past of our Western civilization had a share in the making of him, and some deep and brooding sense of values from the Far East entered into a mind which could not completely find itself without a contribution from ancient India. There was a capacity for the keen laughter of the mind in Babbitt, and very early must have emerged that

sense of permanent values which, like projecting cliffs, survive the beating onslaughts of wind and rain and sea.

In Henry Adams, New England had produced a mind of singular penetration, of urbane disillusionment, and of taste very sophisticated if a little self-conscious. But Adams had only polite but withering scorn, expressed in phrases of distinguished cynicism, to give to the nineteenth century, and found it necessary to travel back to the thirteenth century, whose poetry he could enjoy without being troubled by its lack of sanitation, in order to find a happy home for his spirit. In Paul Elmer More, America had produced a son whose Attic taste brought the lusty Republic to stern and unhesitating judgement by the very existence in its life of a mind capable of being mastered by the standards which compelled his allegiance. More built his thought upon a dualism curiously triumphant, in its own fashion a little resembling Bertrand Russell's triumphant despair. And then came Irving Babbitt. When you read his sparkling volume, *The Masters of Modern French Criticism*, you come in touch with a group of minds which it is evident had a notable relation to his own mental development. From Madame de Staël, through Joubert and Chateaubriand, to Sainte-Beuve (very much Sainte-Beuve), Scherer, Taine, Renan, and Brunetière, you move, marvelling at the clear light of the critical mind which guides you, and feeling the very pulse-beat of French criticism for a period of nearly a century and a half. How astonishingly he can put an insight into an epigram: 'The problem is to find some middle ground between Procrustes and Proteus.' You get the very quality of his own mind when he says that the 'literature which expressed the mind of the Middle Ages was in the highest degree cosmopolitan in the older and, what may turn out to be the only, genuine sense; that is, it rested primarily on a common discipline and not on a common sympathy.' And when he adds, a little later, 'Unless some new discipline intervenes to temper the

expansion, cosmopolitanism may be only another name for moral disintegration.' What a *flair* he has for putting men beside each other so that each is seen in an unusual light: 'Joubert tends to see only the benefits of order, just as Emerson tends to see only the benefits of emancipation.' He is not afraid to apply the sharp knife of a skilful surgeon to malignant growths in contemporary life: 'The tendency to entrench oneself in a single field and then to allow one's comprehension of this field to override one's judgement and sense of proportion are traits which we associate with the modern specialist.' You cherish happily an understanding observation like this: 'One way in which Sainte-Beuve avoided repeating himself was by renewing himself.' Sometimes a sentence cuts its way into the mind with a sharpness which comes from a kind of clear and ruthless insight, as when he speaks of Renan's 'attempt to exalt the intellect into a position that belongs only to the character and will.' Sometimes a sentence of critical description is almost completely satisfying: 'The dilettante is an intellectual voluptuary.' He gives you a sense of distinctions clearly held: 'Brunetière lived for neither the senses nor the imagination, but solely for ideas.' 'He (Brunetière) is always lucid but rarely luminous.' You feel that Professor Babbitt has not only read his French critics with industry and sympathy and critical acumen, but that he has brought a point of view and a definite set of standards to all his reading. He has learned infinite intellectual finesse and subtle potency of expression from his French masters. And he has brought to them, and carried through his reading of their work, the perspective which is only possible when a man stands firmly somewhere and knows well just where he stands. Reading can never be merely a school of cleverness to a man whose mind has character as well as brilliancy. And very soon you learn that there are fixed stars in Irving Babbitt's sky. In all this you are happily free from the distinguished and cynical

self-consciousness of Henry Adams. And this is partly at least because Professor Babbitt has actually found something in experience which is greater and surer than himself.

When one desires to enter the very citadel of Professor Babbitt's mind, however, he must turn to that actual *chef-d'œuvre*, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, concerning which an article in the *Athenaeum* said : ' We are almost compelled to declare that it is the only book of criticism worthy the name which has appeared in English in the twentieth century.' It is here that we come upon the central insight of Professor Babbitt's mind, expressed with memorable felicity and power, and supported by an erudition which sometimes almost takes the reader's breath away. Let us look for a moment into the situation which Dr. Babbitt analyses, and later come back to his most important book.

There are two possible attitudes toward life which stand toward each other in sharp antithesis. On the one hand there is the view of life which seeks in its experiences the gratification of expansive emotion. On the other there is the interpretation of life which finds its realization in the acceptance of masterful discipline. When these two attitudes take the form of theories of art, we may call one Romantic and the other Classic. The finding of adequate standards, and the conforming to these standards with an exquisite and delicate, yet firm and stalwart, sense of harmony and restraint, is the very genius of the classic interpretation of art. And back of it is a view of life which seeks urbanity and harmony and ' nothing too much.' The defiance of standards in the name of glorious and untrammelled self-expression ; the surrender to the licence of expansive feeling ; the voluptuous enjoyment of emotion for its own sake, and the creation of an art which is the very expression of an untrammelled feeling which, moving like quicksilver, does its own unchecked and unguided will,—is on the other hand the very genius of romanticism. The

one begins in a quest for standards, and ends in a joyous and lofty loyalty which finds freedom in noble obedience. The other begins with a quest for delicate and exquisite emotions accepting no law but their own luxurious sense of freedom from restraint, and ends in a lotus-eating reverie which has lost all contact with the actualities of experience.

But while all this is true, the situation is not so simple as the analysis, so far, might seem to indicate. For on the one hand it is all too easy for the classical attitude toward life to degenerate into a pseudo-classicism which is conventional and hard and rigid, which substitutes loyalty to artificial standards for a profound apprehension of those sanctions which are central in life itself. It is easy for the classicist to become an artistic Pharisee busy over unimportant minutiae and forgetting the weightier matters of the law. It is easy for his rules to become merely a code of intellectual good manners, his theories of art to become a technique of aesthetic politeness, and his philosophy of beauty to become a kind of glorified book of etiquette. When all this happens, the aridity and the desert sands of a completely artificial view of life and art are not far away. And in this situation a fresh breath of romanticism, with its insistence upon sincere and direct emotion held in check by no artificial restraints, comes with a tremendous and invigorating sense of emancipation. The cry which calls us back from all the sophisticated aridities of an artificial civilization seems to be the cry of truth itself appealing for fresh air and a chance to live. It is this difficult and complicated situation which forms the background of all Dr. Babbitt's thinking in *Rousseau and Romanticism*, and he makes a very brave attempt to face candidly all the facts, however disconcerting they may be. It is Rousseau who is the mighty moulder of the modern mind. And if Rousseau were merely a voice crying in the wilderness against the artificial elements of a civilization which has mistaken the form for the thing,

Dr. Babbitt would have no fault to find with him. Indeed he would be grateful for his services. For no one admits more frankly the danger and the menace of pseudo-classicism. But Rousseau represents more than a protest. He represents a philosophy of life, and it is with this and its influence upon the modern world that Professor Babbitt deals.

The volume, *Rousseau and Romanticism*, is a singularly complete and, indeed, exhaustive analysis of the whole quality and meaning of the Romantic movement, and that means a study and appraisal of nearly every characteristic current in the stream of life for the last two hundred years. For into all of them romanticism has poured its potent influence. Some of them it has modified, some it has dominated, and some it has swept out into the broad sea of its own heaving emotional tides. Dr. Babbitt studies the deep and abiding contrast expressed in the terms Classic and Romantic. Then he unfolds the meaning and the quality of the Romantic genius. He sets forth the characteristics of the Romantic imagination. He probes into the heart of the Romantic morality as an ideal and as an actual experience. He examines Romantic love and Romantic irony, and unhesitatingly examines the relation of romanticism to nature. He penetrates into the strange dark places of the Romantic melancholy, and subjects to unhesitating and candid scrutiny the present world, where romanticism exercises such a varied and manifold, and, in many ways, such a determining influence. In all this he calls upon a wealth of erudition, and brings into play the resources of an exact scholarship which gives delight to the technically trained scholar, even as the swift, sure movement of his style and his quick, sharp phrases arrest and hold the attention of the man who has an instinct for vital thinking and expression but lacks the instruments of highly disciplined scholarship.

Again and again we come across sentences which reveal an astonishing honesty which has yet quite escaped a

cynical disillusionment. 'The Rousseauist begins by walking through the world as though it were an enchanted garden, and then, with the inevitable clash between his ideal and the real, he becomes morose and embittered. Since men have turned out not to be indiscriminately good, he inclines to look upon them as indiscriminately bad and to portray them as such.' In this mood men set about a scientific and objective study of life. 'But what lurks most often behind this pretence to a cold, scientific impassiveness in observing human nature is a soured and cynical emotionalism and a distinctly romantic type of imagination. The imagination is still idealistic, still straining, that is away from the real, only its idealism has undergone a strange inversion; instead of exaggerating the loveliness, it exaggerates the ugliness of human nature; it finds a sort of morose satisfaction in building for itself, not castles, but dungeons in Spain.' This is the inevitable destination of a romanticism which begins by ignoring the ugly facts of life and ends by being able to see nothing else. Yet the lifeless rules from which it reacted are surely things which deserved its scorn. This Professor Babbitt sees clearly enough, but he observes with fairly uncanny penetration: 'What Rousseau actually opposed to pseudo-decorum was perhaps the most alluring form of sham spirituality that the world has ever seen—a method, not merely of masking, but of glorifying spiritual indolence.' To dignify expansive and undisciplined emotion until it seems to have an almost religious value is indeed to attempt to secure the pleasures of vice with the accompaniment of the sense of moral elevation which is always dangerous when self-conscious, and which is the ultimate deceit when it is unaccompanied by the practice of virtue. 'The mingling of sense and spirit that pervades Rousseau, his pseudo-Platonism, as I have called it elsewhere, is also a feminine rather than a masculine trait.' 'The ancient sophist at least made man the measure of all things. By subordinating judgement to sensibility Rousseau

may be said to have made woman the measure of all things.' Romanticism is, then, 'the despotism of mood.' Closer and closer press the instruments of Dr. Babbitt's analysis: 'There is, in fact, no object in the Romantic universe—only subject.' To the romanticist 'the record of the past becomes a gorgeous pageant that lures one to endless imaginative exploration and lulls one to oblivion of everything except its variety and picturesqueness. It becomes everything, in fact, except a school of judgement.' The sense of the necessity for solid standing ground amid the flux of things, and the utter failure of the romanticist to provide it, becomes very clear. 'What the romanticist opposes to convention is his "genius," that is, his unique and private self. What Socrates opposes to convention is his universal and ethical self.' The lack of an organizing principle for life coming from deeply vital and accepted standards leads at last to the complete breakdown of the unity of life. Of a certain type of romanticist it may be said, 'he thinks one thing and feels another and does still a third.' Because there is no stable and controlling law in the life of the romanticist he tends to make of nature the mere plaything of his mood. 'The pantheistic reverie amounts to a sort of ecstatic animality that sets up as a divine illumination.' The necessity of stable principles about which the life can be organized is seen in the fact that, 'When no longer subordinated to something higher than themselves, both the head and the heart (in the romantic sense) not only tend to be opposed to one another, but also each in its own way to isolate.' 'The special mark of the half-educated man is his harbouring of incompatible desires.' 'The nineteenth century may very well prove to have been the most wonderful and least wise of the centuries. The men of this period—and I am speaking, of course, of the main drift—were so busy being wonderful that they had no time apparently to be wise.' The abandonment to expansive feeling is a seemingly glorious and emancipating thing when it is set

over against the artificialities of a conventional age. But expansive emotion takes the bit in its teeth. It becomes hectic and uncontrolled passion. It turns from the delicate and lovely sentiments which at first seemed to satisfy it and looks upon us at last with lawless and lustful and bloodshot eyes. It becomes remorseless and cruel. And what began as emancipation ends as bitter and intolerable slavery. We have escaped from frozen proprieties, but we have become the slave of cruel and lawless lusts.

Is there, then, no way of noble harmony in which happy and spontaneous living is joined to high obedience to great and satisfying sanctions? Must one be a slave or a madman? Must society in all its activities consist of the meaningless motions of rigid automata or a mad orgy of voluptuous lawlessness turning at last to the insatiable lust for blood? It is the central significance of Professor Babbitt's book, and indeed the essential matter in all his criticism, that he has an answer to these questions. In our own time he sees in Bergson's *Elan Vital* another example of a view of life based upon expansive and undisciplined emotion. He knows all too well the tragic way in which such a principle will finally move. But he knows, too, the tragedy of sanctions unilluminated by living energy and creative passion. The real secret, then, belongs to a life full of joyous vitality, not the vitality of surrender to expansive emotion, but the vitality of glad and joyous acceptance of life's permanent sanctions. Over against vital impulse, then, he would put vital control. Over against the *elan vital* he would put *frein vital*. To make law itself joyous and dispassionate through an understanding acceptance of its vital sanctions is to transform the whole situation. For now you have all the sweeping vitality of expansive emotion with all the stern strength of discipline and high control. As the Old Testament prophet, whom Professor Babbitt does not quote, would put it, the law is written on your heart.

The same attitude toward life and the same principles

which are set forth with such profound understanding in *Rousseau and Romanticism* appear in other relationships in Dr. Babbitt's striking volume on *Democracy and Leadership*. The reader of *Rousseau and Romanticism* has become familiar with that type of romantic reverie which substitutes its own glowing imagination for a contact with the facts of life. But this glowing and irresponsible imagination, unchecked and unguided by an appeal to facts, may become the inspiration for action as well as the basis of idle dreaming. And when it becomes a basis for action you have the emergence of that pseudo-democracy which substitutes glowing humanitarian feeling for an actual appraisal of the facts of human life, and an understanding of the necessity for discipline if democracy is to be a successful experiment. Over against the romantic imagination which bases its hope of democracy upon an iridescent dream, Dr. Babbitt puts that moral imagination which bases democracy itself upon great moral and spiritual loyalties. In approaching this discussion he places the enthusiasms of Rousseau over against the insights of Burke. As a matter of fact he is sure that an undisciplined democracy is on the way to imperialism. "If there had been no Rousseau," Napoleon is reported to have said, "there would have been no revolution, and without the revolution I should have been impossible." Now Rousseau may be regarded as, more than any other one person, the humanitarian Messiah. Napoleon, for his part, may be defined, in Hardy's phrase, as the Christ of war. So that the humanitarian Messiah set in motion forces that led, by a process I have attempted to sketch in rough general outline, to the rise of a Christ of war.'

Turning to Asia, Dr. Babbitt finds, to be sure, that it was the home of vast imperialisms. But he also finds that it was the home of Christ and Buddha and Confucius. 'The idea that man needs to submit his ordinary self to a higher or divine will is essential, not merely to Christianity, but to all genuine religion.' And the great religions which have

come out of Asia have given a defining and powerful emphasis to this idea. The democrat who believes merely in undisciplined humanitarian emotion is at the opposite pole from the democrat who understands the place of discipline and reverence in the making of the individual and the State. 'The modernist is wont to assume that the really important conflict is between Liberals on the one hand and reactionaries on the other; a more important conflict, however, may turn out to be that between true and false Liberals.' Really, democracy must stand or fall at last according as it proves itself capable or incapable of discovering and making effective permanent standards. 'The democratic contention that everybody should have a chance is excellent, provided it means that everybody is to have a chance to measure up to high standards.' 'The American situation can only be understood with reference to the larger background, the slow yielding in the whole of the Occident of traditional standards, humanitarian and religious, to naturalism.' 'What has actually been witnessed in the Occident, as a result of the failure to work out critical equivalents of the traditional standards, has been a series of oscillations between a humanitarian idealism and a Machiavellian realism.' The substitution of humanitarian and unchecked feeling for disciplined democracy leads inevitably to bitter disillusionment, and is likely to lead through blood to imperialism. Professor Babbitt's book was written before the days of Mussolini. But the pertinence of his analysis to the situation in Italy is clear enough. A successful democracy must be able to produce the best type of men, and then it must be capable of bringing them into places of leadership and positions of power. And only a free loyalty to the best, only the universal acceptance of vital control in the name of great standards, will make this possible.

In the field of art criticism Dr. Babbitt has applied his principles in a brilliant little book entitled *The New Laokoon*, a volume which he describes as an essay on the confusion

of the arts. He frankly faces the weaknesses of pseudo-classicism, and then plunges boldly into that confusion of the arts which romanticism, with its lack of coherent standards, makes inevitable. The end he seeks is an age, like that of Greece, when 'man may combine an exquisite measure with a perfect spontaneity, that he may be at once thoroughly disciplined and thoroughly inspired.' And here again one feels that the descriptive phrase is vital control.

It is, of course, inevitable that a thinker who is discussing such sanctions as those considered by Professor Babbitt must turn his attention sooner or later to the whole grave and vast subject of education. And this Dr. Babbitt has done in a volume of clear and trenchant thinking, entitled *Literature and the American College*. He builds the structure of his thought firmly upon the insight definitively expressed by Emerson that there is 'one law for man and another law for things.' It is in humanism then, and not in a study of the physical or the biological sciences, that the student will discover the final insights he is to receive through education as to the meaning and the practice of the experiences and the arts of human life. In Bacon he sees a type of mind whose view of education is sure to miss many vital matters. 'What the Baconian understands is training for power, training with a view to certain practical or scientific results.' 'On the other hand,' we are told, 'that the aim of Socrates in his training of the young was not to make them efficient, but to inspire in them reverence and restraint; for to make them efficient, said Socrates, without reverence and restraint, was simply to equip them with ampler means for harm.' The type of doctor's degree which is secured by methods which result in the capacity to classify facts, but leave the scholar quite incapable of critical thought in large relations, is an outstanding illustration of an aspect of weakness in contemporary education. In the quarrel between the ancients and moderns—as far as this quarrel means that the moderns believe in a type of

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education which analyses and classifies forces below the human level, and the ancients studied in all their relations and implications the experiences of men as human beings—Dr. Babbitt is with the ancients. He is not a foe of truly creative mental life or of joyous originality. But he sees little promise in an originality which consists in a denial of the place of the structural disciplines of life or a creative energy which means only surrender to lawless impulse. Education must mean insight into the nature of relationships between rational beings as well as into the nature of impersonal laws. And it must not be a clever means by which a man builds an edifice of thought about his favourite indulgence and in this fashion shields it from criticism. The classics themselves may be studied in such fashion that they become a sort of literary chemistry. The philologist is an important sort of scholar, but, when he is a philologist and nothing more, he is scarcely the vehicle of humanistic values. The capacity to think largely, and with disciplined insight of the whole human experiment of thinking and feeling and acting, is surely the goal of a true education. And the classics studied as documents illustrating and interpreting the quest for adequate standards have a place in education which can be taken from them only at great peril to the individual and the State.

To be sure, when a thinker, amply equipped in respect of erudition and trained in the processes of exact scholarship, essays the tasks of criticism in fields which cover such vast territory, there will be much opportunity for disagreement with his positions in matters of detail, even on the part of those who accept his central thesis and feel profoundly grateful to him for many a penetrating insight masterfully expressed. His fear of the thinking which makes the law for the thing take the place of the law for man leads him to treat the Stoics with what many will feel is scant justice. His hostility to the romantic elements in Wordsworth and Browning may be felt to cloud his eyes to their deep insights

and their profound contribution to our understanding of life. Indeed, at many individual points one is inclined to question the quick thrust of his sharp criticism. It is also true that his fear of a humanitarian feeling, which is not adequately based upon knowledge of the facts of life, and an apprehension of the meaning of moral and spiritual discipline, causes him to look with what seems like a curious disfavour upon the whole movement in the direction of a completer social sympathy. He is so afraid of the evil implicit in undisciplined humanitarianism that he does not take time fully to appreciate the good which humanitarianism has brought to the world. Then it may be questioned whether the very distinction which he makes between a true classicism and a pseudo-classicism is not needed in respect of romanticism. Is there not a true and sane romanticism, and is there not a pseudo-romanticism? And is not this distinction really involved in Dr. Babbitt's own phrase, *frein vital*? Such are some of the questions which a prolonged study of his writings will suggest.

But, after all necessary qualifications have been brought to light through the processes of careful analysis, it remains true that no more important critical word in respect of the meaning of life and the tendencies of contemporary civilization has been spoken than that which has come from the author of *Rousseau and Romanticism*. We must be saved from hard and mechanical convention. We must not surrender to the rule of undisciplined and expansive emotion. And that vital control which possesses the creative enthusiasm of romanticism and the disciplined strength of classicism will surely give us the best, and save us from the worst, which the two opposing movements have brought to the world. It is the achievement of Professor Babbitt that he has pointed the way to a discipline which will glow with spontaneous and free-moving vitality, and to an enthusiasm which shall feel the firm hand of permanent standards.

LYNN HAROLD HOUGH.

**'JOHN WYCLIF: A STORY OF THE ENGLISH
MEDIAEVAL CHURCH'**¹

THIS is a very valuable book, bringing us a whole stage onward in English Church history. All students knew that Wyclif must some day be studied far more thoroughly and systematically if we were ever to understand the later Middle Ages and the Reformation; but this was a heavy task, and Dr. Workman is the first who has grappled with it in its entirety. The mass of footnotes, none of them superfluous, testifies alike to the importance and to the difficulty of this study; and we need not wonder to read in his preface that he presents us here with the fruit of twelve years' labour. But it is labour well spent; for the author's diligence is guided by the same sanity and fairness of judgement which render his *Evolution of the Monastic Ideal*, published thirteen years ago, still the best introduction to the serious study of monastic history.

What, then, will the reader find in these two solid volumes? He will find a man who was neither a villain nor a martyr, leading and inspiring followers of all classes, who were neither up to the level of Christ's seventy disciples on the one hand, nor, on the other hand, rabid revolutionaries. Some, indeed, were extremists, especially in their most extreme utterances; but we see here, on the whole, a typical Englishman leading typical Englishmen. For among us there are more types than one, each as truly English as the other; in no other country that is or that was (so far as we know) do men come quite so near to the ideal of agreeing to differ, and of leaving freedom for individual development. Wyclif and his Lollards were often strong in practical sense, but perhaps proportionately

¹ By Herbert B. Workman, D.Litt., D.D., Principal of the Westminster College. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 2 vols. 80s. net.)

deficient in sympathy and in sense of social solidarity. They had far less attractive force, and deserved to have less, than such great Continental saints as Bernard and Francis; yet they were ready for a directer and more practical attack upon many acknowledged abuses of their day. Therein lay the strength of their position. The experience of past generations, with their continually-frustrated reforms, had brought these contemporaries of Chaucer to the conviction that the Church was constitutionally incapable of reforming herself from within. 'The Church is, as it were, consumed with an incurable cancer, and the very remedies do but make her worse.' Those are the words, not of Wyclif or of a Wyclifite, but of Jean Gerson, the eminent and long-tried Chancellor of Paris University, who has sometimes been singled out as the greatest churchman of fourteenth-century Europe. Gerson's younger contemporary, the Dominican Johann Nider, who knew Germany almost as well as Gerson knew France, said much the same; he deprecated hasty reform on the express ground that the building was already so far gone in decay; therefore the greatest care must be taken lest it fall at one stroke upon the reformers' heads. Sir Thomas More, who would willingly have burned Wyclif, did not contest the truth of Gerson's criticisms; he only objected to their publication; the lawyer Christopher St. Germain was ill-advised (thought More) to put into English, for Tom, Dick, and Harry, that which the great Chancellor had written *ad clerum* in the decent obscurity of a learned language. It was Wyclif's merit that, seeing what these men saw, he drew from the facts a more downright conclusion than they. Who, that has once read it, can ever forget that brief dialogue which Carlyle prints as the motto to his *Latter-Day Pamphlets*? 'Then said his Lordship, "Well, God mend all!"—“Nay, by God, Donald, we must help Him to mend it," said the other.' The most orthodox, before and after Wyclif, were often those who yearned most

passionately, 'God mend all!' Wyclif was the first who broke in—blundered in, some would say—with, 'Nay, by God, we must help Him to mend it.' A catena might be extracted from St. Bernard and St. Bonaventura, from Roger Bacon and Cardinal Hugues de St-Cher, the author of the first Bible concordance, which would scarcely yield in emphasis to a similar catena of complaints against Church abuses taken from Wyclif's works. But these men had less excuse for impatience—or, as some might say, had more excuse for patiently suffering things which, they still hoped, might be mended by men of goodwill pressing on steadily, shoulder to shoulder; 'in quietness and in confidence shall be your strength.' In Wyclif's time, however, it was evident, to all who dared to face the facts, that the last two centuries (to go no farther) had brought, not a decrease, but an increase of evils with which no right-minded man can make peace, or even armistice; 'there can be no mediation between the fire and the fire-engine.' Therefore Wyclif is the first man of first-rate intellect and character, in England, to declare war upon the Church that is, by an appeal to the Church that is to be. Arnold of Brescia, two centuries earlier, had probably been his equal, both morally and intellectually; perhaps his superior. But Arnold could not, in the nature of the case, reckon upon anything like the same support from the society round him in France or in Italy. Quiet, decent folk were not yet sufficiently impatient; and a movement has no chance if it appeals preponderantly to the unquiet extremists, unless those are numerous enough and violent enough to turn the tide by physical force. Wyclif could count upon something more closely approaching to the support of such men as Andrew Marvell describes among the opponents of Stuart despotism:

A gross of English gentry, nobly born . . .
Candidly credulous for once, nay, twice,
But, sure, the devil shall not deceive them thrice.

Dr. Workman brings out admirably the significance of Wyclif's backing among the Oxford masters and the country gentry (vol. ii., pp. 330 ff., 376 ff.). Perhaps he does not bring out equally plainly what is perhaps equally significant—that this most fruitful of mediaeval fights for reform broke out in that country where Church life was, on the whole, least in need of reform. It is the old story; revolution is common, not so much among people at their worst, but rather at the time, or in the place, where those who are daily wronged by chronic abuses have already gained so much that they are now bold to fight for more; where they are already so far educated as to present something like a common front, with some real vision of what they require, and something more than the valour of ignorance in the fight which they foresee. Even in Chaucer's England men were not yet advanced enough for this. Although we had had better bishops and priests than the Continental average, and though Church politics had partaken of the tranquillity which marked our lay politics, as compared with Continental party-struggles or dictatorships; although, again, we had a better-disciplined and more practically-intelligent (as distinguished from book-learned) population than the average, yet even with us the innovators could not hold their ground in the long run. Wyclif's bones were burned and cast into the Swift; it was only in later generations that Fuller could write: 'Thus this brook hath conveyed his ashes into Avon, Avon into Severn, Severn into the narrow seas, then into the main ocean. And thus the ashes of Wyclif are the emblem of his doctrine, which is now dispersed all the world over.'

The man himself is still to some extent enigmatical, for want of precise personal evidence. 'In the following pages,' writes Dr. Workman on his very first page, 'we shall try to disentangle from the mass of fiction and misstatements such facts about Wyclif's life as seem probable. Nevertheless, we must confess, in spite of the industry of

many workers, that the harvest of certainty reaped is but small. Oftentimes we are reduced to conjecture in supplying the missing evidence, or in attempting an adequate explanation of Wyclif's actions.' On a few minor points it is not always easy to follow Dr. Workman. His argument that Wyclif can scarcely have been born at Hipswell because, 'as surnames then went,' he would then have been called John of Hipswell, is anachronistic; surnames had already crystallized by this time into something like their modern form, and we have (for instance) Richard Snetisham, who was born at Shipdam, another Norfolk village some twenty miles distant (ii. 8, 61), and John of Sheppey (a Leicester village), son to Jordan of Sheppey, and grandson to a Coventry burgher named Laurence of Sheppey (i. 389). We may feel equally doubtful of the genealogical arguments which turn 'conjecture into proof' (i. 41), or which rest on the assumption that a *clericus* could not be married (i. 42). But these are small matters, and on the really important questions of our reformer's identity with other John Wyclifs, or with John Whitclif of Merton or John Whitelyve of Mayfield, Dr. Workman not only states the evidence fully and clearly, but decides in a sense which is likely to be generally accepted.

Amid all our uncertainties, however, there are many real certainties in Wyclif's personal history. We have here a North Countryman from the wilder parts of Yorkshire, of a fighting stock, nurtured at that University of Oxford, in which there was perhaps more freedom of discussion and vigour of original thought than any other then in Europe, and which certainly had a splendid record for originality in comparatively recent times; for, if Wyclif's great-uncle had studied at Oxford, it might well have been under Roger Bacon. We need not lay too much stress on the fact that 'Wyclif never mentions him. Bacon, to quote his own pathetic words, was "unheard, forgotten, buried"' (i. 115). For this does not necessarily mean that

Oxford had quite lost Bacon's spirit, or the spirit that had inspired Bacon, the spirit of his master, Robert Grosseteste of Lincoln. The history of the undercurrents of thought at mediaeval universities is yet to be written. Behind the imposing façade of official philosophy there was much occasional freedom of thought, and even, it may be said, much philosophical libertinage. So that, as Dr. Workman points out, 'there is, in fact, no writer save Augustine to whose authority [Wyclif] more frequently appeals' than to Grosseteste. And it was Grosseteste who, apart from his philosophical influence at Oxford, had been the political champion of sane independence against papal absolutism; and who, preaching before the Roman Court at the Ecumenical Council of Lyons in 1245, had insisted that heresy was bred from the unsatisfied need for Church reform. For (as he pointed out), not only was the greater part of mankind still pagan, but, within so-called Christendom, the Greek world repudiated the Roman obedience; while, even within that Roman obedience, 'which, I think, is very small and unpopulous in comparison with paganism and the Greek Church, no small portion is separated from Christ by heresy; and again, of the remnant, almost all are incorporated with the Devil and separated from Christ by the seven deadly sins.' And, to sum up, 'evil pastors . . . are the cause of infidelity, schism, heresy, and vicious life throughout the world.' While the most orthodox Oxford philosophers had a right to agree here with their most orthodox bishop of a century before, and while, in country districts, another less orthodox Oxford scholar, Ralph de Tremur, 'was wandering through Devon and Cornwall, preaching to the people both openly and secretly "that the bread and wine are not changed consubstantially into the Flesh and Blood of our Lord Jesus,"' it was perfectly natural that a man like Wyclif should find himself soon driven by logic and experience into something like anticlericalism. His quarrel with the monks and with

Archbishop Langham about the wardenship of Canterbury Hall at Oxford (for it seems pretty certain that our Wyclif was the man who was ejected from this office in 1366, not for personal reasons, but on just constitutional grounds) would not tend to soften this spirit. When, therefore, in 1371, the lay party in Parliament needed academic help, it was quite natural that Wyclif should become a royal clerk, and should be paid, after the fashion of royal clerks, with the rectory of Lutterworth. From that time forward his career shows us how all reformers (except only those very few who are ready to resist unto the blood even where neither private advantage nor personal pride is at stake) are necessarily implicated in the conditions of their own age and country. The system of absentee rectors was one of the gangrenes of the Church ; it might be put even more strongly than Dr. Workman has put it. In Wyclif's youth, something like a quarter of the rectories were already in the hands of absentee religious bodies, cathedral chapters or monasteries ; these commonly took two-thirds of the parochial income and left only one-third to the vicar who did the parish work. Of those other rectories which were still in lay presentation, more than half were habitually given, by family favour or similar reasons, to young men not yet in priest's orders ; this may be worked out statistically from the episcopal registers. There were thus two classes among those who had, or ought to have had, the cure of souls—a well-connected class, which took most of the money, and a struggling class of curates, who did most of the duty. The Black Death, it is true, had done much to solve a problem in face of which the hierarchy had been powerless or guiltily acquiescent ; it halved the numbers of the clergy without diminishing the number of parishes ; therefore the struggling priests got rectories, and this advance, once made, was never entirely lost again ; the old abuses recommenced, but on a far smaller scale. Kings, however, still regularly rewarded their servants with rectories or

canonries or bishoprics ; and of these servants Wyclif was one. In an age in which there was practically no university endowment of research, and no Civil Service grant, he, like all his fellows, lived upon Church endowments. Even his enemy, Archbishop Arundel, is reported to have confessed : ' He was a great clerk, and many men held him a perfect liver.' But here, and in some other ways, he was still a man of his time ; and it is one of the great merits of Dr. Workman's book that he makes no more attempt to disguise this than to minimize the strong points of men like Courtenay and Arundel. And, indeed, that is one of the happy possibilities under which all scholars of the modern reformed Churches may study and write, if only they will. An Anglican, on the whole, prefers his own Church, and a Wesleyan his. But neither is pained to see the other drawing nearer, in some ways, to Christ ; and, further still, either can afford to admit that, when all secrets are revealed, his own fellowship may possibly not be found to stand, where he hopes it stands, best of all on the whole. Therefore we compare men like Wyclif and Latimer and Luther, not with the greatest of the mediaeval saints, the pick of more than a thousand years, but with the conservatives of their own time. We may be none the less loyal to the Reformation when we see plainly that St. Bernard and St. Francis were greater men than Wyclif ; nay, in such a confession we may be most loyal to the Reformation, if, indeed, Dr. Poole is right in claiming that movement as resting on ' the basis of the direct dependence of the individual man on God ' ; and Professor Gwatkin, that its essence is the reliance upon sound learning rather than upon authority ; for, if this be so, we may feel ourselves in full conformity with the Pauline precept, *Prove all things, hold fast that which is good.* Bernard was a better man than Wyclif ; but so also was Marcus Aurelius ; even on essential points, therefore, we may feel ourselves bound to hold our own against the greatest men. To plead

that Marcus Aurelius, if he had known St. Paul, might well have been one of the earliest and greatest of Christian saints, is practically to suggest also that St. Bernard might have become one of the earliest and greatest of Protestants. If he had lived in Wyclif's age and place, and had seen what Wyclif could see around him and could trace in history, who shall say that the saint who spoke so plainly to Eugenius III, wiser now by two hundred years, might not have broken altogether with a schismatic and discredited papacy? Therefore we must compare Wyclif, not with men whose outlook was necessarily very different, but with those of his contemporaries who championed the old order as whole-heartedly as this Oxford professor fought for a new. And then we have no reason to fear the comparison. Wyclif himself would approve of Dr. Workman; for Wyclif wanted to get at the truth. He would appreciate the biographer's criticisms; for he knew well how much alloy there is in the best of current gold; and in many cases he himself was obviously feeling his way.

This may be seen most clearly, perhaps, in his celebrated theory of Dominion. It was not original, nor, indeed, were many other ideas of his; a recent Roman Catholic writer speaks emphatically of his 'amazing plagiarisms'.¹ But this is to misconceive mediaeval literary methods. Everybody, in those days, borrowed wherever it suited him; the 'plagiarist' was a public benefactor; ideas could not be spread in print, but they were diffused by borrowing. The author gave his readers credit for caring more about a true sentence than about its first inventor's name; unless, indeed, the name were so great as to stamp an almost scriptural hall-mark upon the sentence. St. Thomas Aquinas, whom nobody will accuse of personal vanity or duplicity, borrows whole sections from Albert the Great without acknowledgement, just as naturally as we cite a

¹ Fr. Bede Jarrett, O.P., *Social Theories of the Middle Ages*, 1926, p. 145.

line from Shakespeare or the Bible without quotation marks. No reasonable person will here blame St. Thomas ; and we must recognize that Wyclif also was benefiting the public by 'conveying' whole sections from Peraldus, or the whole idea of Dominion from Archbishop Fitzralph of Armagh.

Dr. Workman exposes unhesitatingly the extent to which this theory transcended all possibilities of practical politics ; and, again, the difficulties into which Wyclif was landed when he pushed it to its logical consequences. But the reformer, I think, would have admitted many of these things. Ockham, the Englishman who anticipated him in so many ways, would probably have admitted the same for himself, in a quiet fireside discussion. Both men were, in one way, aiming at the same thing, viz. to break down a too rigidly conservative system by sapping its foundations. We cannot afford ever to lose sight of a fact which has been recently expressed, with epigrammatic exaggeration but truly in the main, by a recent distinguished Roman Catholic writer, Professor Maurice de Wulf of Louvain. 'The thirteenth century believed that it had reached a state of equilibrium . . . their extraordinary optimism led them to believe that they had arrived at a state close to perfection.'¹ This is only true of the official majority ; it ignores the profound dissatisfaction of men like Grosseteste and Roger Bacon ; but, as applied to the hierarchy and the clergy in general, it is mainly true. But a society so complacent as this is impervious to betterment ; every serious attempt at reform is met with the protest, *Touch not the Lord's anointed !* This comes out with extraordinary force in the *Dialogue* of St. Catherine of Siena. In chapters 121-30 of that book, and again in chapters 162-4, she indicts the Italian clergy of her own (and Wyclif's) time in language of greater horror and contempt than any English reformer used, or needed to use. Her condemnation

¹ *Philosophy and Civilization in the Middle Ages*, 1922, p. 268.

is so direct that three whole chapters—thirty-five quarto pages of the original—are silently omitted in the English translation to which the Roman hierarchy in Britain has given its official *imprimatur*.¹ Yet, in other parts of the *Dialogue*, she protests energetically against any lay interference; true, these wicked clerics are 'devils incarnate,' yet they are under God's wing, and may not be touched, neither their persons nor their possessions. Here, then, is where Wyclif's argument comes in. Dominion (and this word has both mediaeval senses, ownership of property, and control of men's persons) is founded only in grace. Only so far as a man is right with God can he be truly and fully said to possess those earthly goods which at present he enjoys; that which he seemeth to have shall be taken away. Not, indeed, that all men indiscriminately may refuse him obedience or pillage his property; that would only lead to greater evils; 'God must obey the Devil' (one of the sentences which was extracted from Wyclif's works for most definite condemnation). In other words, God has patience; so also must we. We read in *Piers Plowman*, 'Who suffereth more than God? . . . To see much, and suffer more, certes (quoth I), is *Do well*.' In order to avoid greater evils, we must generally let the wicked man enjoy his lands and his money; we must even submit to his dominion. But this is merely a matter of expediency; it is merely temporary; God may obey the Devil for a while, but not for ever. Leave the man in his dominion, except so far as you can dispossess him in favour of another more righteous man by reasonable and orderly means. Refrain for the

¹Translated by Algar Thorold, 1907, with a preface which implies that we have here a full and faithful rendering of the original. I have exposed this in *The Review of the Churches* for October 1926, but repeat it here because such methods cannot be too often and too publicly stigmatized. The official *imprimatur* from the Archbishop's House at Westminster will be found on the false title. Two other editions of Mr. Thorold's translation, far more expensive, and lacking the *imprimatur* of the hierarchy, give the saint's words in full.

present from actually touching him ; but, when he talks of his money or his office as a thing which is his *by right*, then we can contradict him to his face : Dominion is founded in Grace alone ; and those who are incurably ungracious shall some day, if not at once, be dispossessed. In brief, Wyclif's position was analogous to that of William Morris in our own day. Morris became an avowed and militant Socialist, but he kept his inherited £900 a year, and the profits of his great art factory. He said, in effect, ' I can't make a Socialist world at once ; but I can prepare it. Ask my workmen, meanwhile, whether they are better or worse off than their fellows.' So says Wyclif : ' We cannot transfer all dominion suddenly and wholesale ; God must meanwhile obey the Devil.'

A review of this nature—even though it were written at greater leisure than is possible in the present case—must fail to do full justice to Dr. Workman's book. He has grappled worthily with a great task ; his twelve years of labour have carried his fellow scholars a long step farther, not only for Wyclif's own life, but also for his times ; and every serious student of the Middle Ages or of the Reformation must necessarily take a very careful account of these remarkable volumes.

G. G. COULTON.

THE PARABLE OF THE TALENTS

ST. MATTHEW XXV. 14

IT is important for us to realize that the parables delivered by Christ are inexhaustible in their teaching. That is to say, like all the greatest passages in the Bible, they appeal to each new reader with a novel force, as soon as he once penetrates below the sound of words. Hence it comes about that, like all truths of history, and indeed like all facts of science, they begin to be valuable and life-giving as soon as they are interpreted as a living message : the meaning of which is generally threatened with suppression by the formula in which it is expressed. There is, in short, ample excuse for any attempt to re-state the central teaching of any parable, however familiar and however often it may have been commented on before.

These considerations apply in a marked way to the Parable of the Talents ; not only because of its abundant richness and depth, but because the popular interpretation of it has for many years been misleading, and, indeed, quite false. The majority of readers never get beyond a vague idea that it is an injunction addressed especially to the young that they should not be idle ; though we ought all of us to see the absurdity of supposing that the Lord of Life came on earth to teach the Jews what they already knew better, perhaps, than any other race of mankind. Further, if that were the message, how are we to account for the appalling severity of the sentence passed on the offender by Him who associated with publicans and sinners, apparently without uttering a word of rebuke ? Any interpretation of the parable which is in the least inadequate must justify the conclusion of the story. That is tantamount to saying that, whatever is meant by burying the talent, it must be a wilful defiance of God's law and a proceeding which makes an utter wreckage of human life.

One or two indications of the purport of the story may be gathered from the surface narrative before we go on to the spiritual counterpart. Let us first take the conduct of the offending servant and put it in its most favourable light ; this being the best way of taking our Lord's warnings to ourselves. They are not warnings at all as long as we imagine that they only refer to people quite different from ourselves. It looks, then, at first as if the servant was simply an over-cautious man, who had great respect for his lord's property, and was anxious not to fail altogether in the commission entrusted to him. It is true he was told to trade, and you cannot trade with money by burying it ; but, at any rate, he provided against its being lost. Such, at least, was his own defence ; and again the question crops up—Why is the sentence to be so severe ? On the other hand, the man was blameworthy because he was disobedient ; nor was he right in assuming that his lord was an austere and unjust man ; indeed, this supposition was at the bottom of all the trouble.

But, besides this moral failure, his common sense ought to have saved him from the folly. He forgot the essential character of a talent, which here we may think of as a single coin. A coin is made to be used, and it is mainly used for trading : for which purpose it must be allowed to circulate. In truth, among inanimate things a coin is the nearest to being alive. We think of it as running, and call it current coin ; and the Greeks went further, and talked of a capital sum of money as the parent of an offspring we call interest. Or it may be treated as a thing of beauty, which coins in those days frequently were. So that, if he was afraid of letting it go out of his hands, he ought to have hung it up on a wall in the brightest light as a beautiful object to give pleasure to himself and his friends. We note, then, that what he did do contradicted the significance of the coin in whichever aspect we choose to consider it. But it is to be observed that, when his lord returned, the servant

seems to have had no qualms about what he had done; and, by contrast, the other two servants seem to have been surprised at the success of their trading. These I would give as the principal parts in the outward story. Now for the spiritual interpretation.

Everything depends on being clear as to what the talents represent. What is it that all Christians are given which is living and beautiful, and has a mysterious power of bringing in a reward if rightly used? We have gone far enough to see that the ordinary meaning of the word talent, based upon a complete misunderstanding of this parable, must not influence us in our interpretation. No satisfying answer to our question can be given except that the talents represent the Gift of the Holy Spirit to the children of our Heavenly Father. At once the message of the parable becomes inexhaustible and ramifies into every department of human life. The misuse of a Gift so ineffably sacred gives a warrant at once for the tremendous severity which is expressed.

But an important question is—What is the nature of the conduct represented by burying the talent? The hint gathered from the story shows that it is the treating as a dead thing of that which is both living and precious. Further, that the using of the divine endowment is, and always must be, something of a venture; whereas the burying or concealing of it seems to be prompted by the wish for safety common to the natural man. This would mean that there is a way of using our consciences which promises an illusory safety, and is also however plausible nothing else but flat disobedience to God's command.

I would suggest that in common conversation we have got into a way of speaking of conscience as if it were a faculty within us distinct from the Divine Spirit; and that as soon as we think of it in this way we tend to listen to its admonitions as if they were merely moral or legal precepts. Is not this exactly what is done by the man who

professes that his religion is comprised in the word duty? One meets high-minded men who lament the nebulous obscurity in which it seems to them all religion is wrapped; and they persuade themselves, as the Judaizers of old, that in the moral law they have an amply sufficient guide and principle for human life. Thenceforward their aim and hope is in a fulfilment of the law of 'dead works': forgetting that the essential fact of a Christian's status in this world is in the personal possession of the Divine Spirit—a living force of infinite power, making it impossible for the child of God to attribute any growth in spiritual life to any other source than this quickening and renewing Gift within him. Yet, as the story teaches, man has the dread power of burying, or what St. Paul calls 'quenching,' the Spirit: implying that, immeasurable though the heavenly faculty must be, he is able by neglect, cold-heartedness, want of faith, to suppress its action and finally banish the wonderful thing from his life altogether.

Next we notice the term of rebuke used in the story. Not strictly 'wicked and slothful,' as the A.V. has it, but 'corrupt and hesitating'; which words might have kept the interpreters of the story from their great error. The hesitation of the offender, though not unattractive to our English temperament, is that which is shown by people who are afraid of all extremes, and have a gift for throwing cold water, not only on the rash projects formed by enthusiasts, but on enthusiasm itself. We have to learn what the servant apparently from the beginning forgot—that sometimes what we call prudence involves disobedience to divine commands. It encourages the habit of thinking that as ventures may easily be foolish, there is no venture that is not—not even one that has been clearly enjoined by our Master. Now it is most important to notice at this point that the servant tries to justify his conduct by giving his view of his lord—that he was austere and hard: in other words, that the demand made upon him was excessive

and unjust. The other servants, he seems to have argued, had enough given them to justify commercial action which to him would have been too risky. If their first venture failed, they both had something to fall back upon ; but for him failure would have involved ruin. Is not this exactly the temper of mind of those who turn the gospel into the Judaizer's moral law ; finding that, as its demands are far above their reach, they are compelled to minimize its requirements, and look upon themselves as unfairly treated by their Creator ? All evidence shows that this state of mind is terribly common, and the outcome repeatedly is for the human being to deal with the difficulties of life relying on his own strength and wisdom ; and, when the collapse comes, sinking into despair, or anyhow abandoning all hope of further spiritual growth. By way of relief from this difficulty we often feel impelled to deal with the moral law in a way which may be called religious, but which forgoes the idea of a Personal God. Now our Lord insisted on the personal relation in His teaching ; and it is not too fanciful to bring in a further significance suggested by the use of the coin in the story. A coin demands a venture, and is a thing of beauty ; it is also stamped with the image of the King. The superscription is a perpetual reminder of responsibility to a Sovereign Power, not to a vague influence, or to a mere corporate idea of a State.

The most difficult part of the parable still remains. What are we to make of the words ' Thou knowest that I reap where I sowed not and gather where I have not strawed : thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury ' ? We notice, to begin with, that the servant's estimate of his master is not only left unrebuked and uncorrected, but it is taken as a starting-point, an assumption which he might have acted upon sensibly, instead of doing what he did. In the spiritual application this would mean that God deals with the professedly dutiful man by appealing

to his moral sense, by letting the question occur to him—‘What am I to make of this life of mine?’ Granting that he had almost no faculty for living in a personal relation to his Maker, his Father, his Judge, yet to eliminate religion from his life: to wrestle with moral difficulties without feeling his need of the Holy Spirit within him: is to violate the fundamental law of his being, and to deny his dependence upon God. There is a middle course suggested by the use of the figure ‘exchangers.’ I take this to mean an institution to which the child of God may have recourse when he is confronted with his own inability to make anything of the mystic side of the spiritual life. Such an institution is, of course, the Church of Christ. Giving the money to it on deposit would mean conforming to its rules, living under its protection, and dealing with life’s perplexities in the light of its guidance and history. The Saviour makes it clear that this *via media* is a dismally inadequate substitute for the real thing; it is a reliance upon a conformity to regulation which, though prompted by a spirit of obedience, is exceedingly likely to become mechanical. It is found, as we know too well, to be compatible with all kinds of moral infirmity and self-deception; and yet it seems to be enjoined by our Lord as a kind of refuge for those to whom personal religion is a sealed book. If we take the scriptural view of the Church of Christ we can understand why the handing over the coin to the exchangers is better than burying it. It is possible, though very difficult, for a child of God whose faith is almost non-existent to retain just enough of blind trust in his Father to treat the society which He has preserved through many centuries as a living and life-giving institution. The servant’s offering, like all offerings that the best of us can make, is miserably inadequate, and indeed almost worthless; and yet, if made in the right spirit—that is, with a most wonderful blend of humbleness and confidence—there is promised to it the reward of fruitfulness. The money spoken of in the story

would be but a trifle, but in the spiritual life we may not measure the increment which God promises to any self-surrender which is genuine, hopeful, and loving.

The parable ends with the unexpected injunction of the lord to give this one talent to the servant who had brought back ten. Was it not a pity to add to the stock which was largest, where there was presumably no want? This question suggests an answer which reveals a law operative in the spiritual world, but not in that of temporal concerns. Every step in advance in the higher life means an increase of power for further progress; just as in the acquisition of knowledge each gain means a richer opportunity of further gains and an increased desire to achieve them. But it should be noticed in both departments any real advance means a deepening of the conviction that fresh regions are being opened out, so vast and illimitable that, in spite of the progress already made, the seeker always feels as if he had barely begun. This point, of course, is only suggested by the story, but not included in it. The apparent paradox of the Lord's saying is cleared up by experience.

There is something of presumption in attempting to summarize such profound and rich teaching as this parable contains. The main emphasis is laid upon the glorious venture of our human life; and the awful ruin to which an impoverished conception of God's dealings with us most surely leads. The change of mind which Christ always enjoins is the recognition that life is no drab and humdrum effort, but a joyful exercise of supernatural power, quickened by faith and unfailing hope. There is a kind of dutifulness devoid of all joyousness and confidence, but dogged and in the eyes of the world praiseworthy, which is in no sense an adequate response to the Christian calling. The guiltiness of refusing to take the Lord at His word is in proportion to the glory and distinctness of the summons. To that summons there is but one answer—'Here am I; send me.'

E. LITTLETON.

WESLEY AND JUDITH BERESFORD

1734-1756

JOHN WESLEY begins the entry in his *Journal* for Tuesday, April 8, 1755, as follows :

I had designed to go straight on to Hayfield ; but one from Ashbourne pressed me much to call there, which accordingly I did at seven in the morning, and preached to a deeply serious congregation. Seventeen or eighteen then desired to join in a society, to whom I spoke severally, and was well pleased to find that near half of them knew the pardoning love of God. One of the first I spoke to was Miss Beresford—a sweet, but short-lived flower ! ¹

‘ A sweet, but short-lived flower ’—the phrase is beautiful, a good example of that poignant simplicity of expression of which Wesley is a master : it lingers in the memory, and possesses almost a sensuous quality—as though the scent of a wild rose had suddenly drifted in at the window. Perhaps Wesley remembered vaguely the famous line in the *Elegy*, which had made its appearance but four years before ; only this flower’s sweetness was not wasted on the desert air.

Who was this girl, whose devout steps thus led her at seven in the morning of that April day, one hundred and seventy-one years ago, towards the light of the profound spiritual revival then beginning to dawn in eighteenth-century England ? No painted portrait of her exists, though it is clear from Wesley’s phrase, and from other evidence, that she was beautiful. Probably in form and feature she was not unlike her niece named after her, Judith, one of the four sisters known in their day as ‘ the beautiful Miss Beresfords,’ whose portraits Hoppner has painted.

¹ Wesley’s *Journal*, vol. iv., p. 110 (Standard edition).

Her father, John Beresford, was a Derbyshire country squire who was born in the fateful year preceding the Revolution of 1688, and lived at Ashbourne, his estates lying in the neighbouring village of Fenny Bentley, and at Newton Grange a mile or two farther on. The cradle of his race was Beresford, in Staffordshire, on the banks of the Dove ; but since the middle of the fifteenth century John Beresford's immediate ancestors had been settled on the almost adjoining Derbyshire properties just named.¹ I know little of him except that he received his youthful education from Queen Elizabeth's grammar school at Ashbourne, and that he was admitted at St. John's College, Cambridge—where his father and his grandfather had been before him—on May 27, 1706.² He seems to have taken little part in the local politics and duties of the country-side, and I have sometimes wondered whether the silence of the ancestral records may not, perhaps, have been due to a secret sympathy on his part with the cause of the unfortunate Stuarts. Certainly he made no public sign in that great event of the '45, when Prince Charles with his faithful army of Highlanders penetrated as far south as Derby, and, passing through Ashbourne, actually lodged in Ashbourne Hall, the home of the Boothbys, with whom John Beresford was nearly connected by marriage. The Boothbys, however, were staunch Hanoverians, and Brooke Boothby—Judith's first cousin—was a captain in that battalion of Derbyshire volunteers who, under the command of the Duke of Devonshire, so discreetly marched out of Derby on the evening of December 3, 1745, the day before Prince Charles entered the town. John Beresford's name is conspicuous by its absence from the list of those loyal gentlemen of the county who had subscribed some six thousand pounds

¹ See Glover's *History of the County of Derby*, vol. ii., p. 45, for an account and pedigree of the family.

² *Alumni Cantabrigienses*, by J. and J. A. Venn, vol. i., p. 188.

towards the raising of this ineffective force of volunteers.¹ Judith was then eleven years old ; she was baptized at Ashbourne on April 20, 1734, and may, perhaps, have seen the Young Pretender, whose advance to Derby caused dark shadows of fear, approaching panic, in the heart of London.²

Judith's mother was Frances FitzHerbert, a daughter of the squire of Somersall Herbert. The FitzHerbert family had lived continuously at Somersall Herbert for five centuries, being a branch of that knightly family whose effigies in exquisitely carved alabaster adorn the chancel of Norbury Church near by.³

John and Frances Beresford were blessed with a family of eleven children, seven sons and four daughters, almost a small family for the eighteenth century. But the mortality of those days was dreadful ; all Judith's sisters died young, and three of her brothers ; and she herself died in her twenty-third year. The pedigrees which compose so large a part of those fascinating folios denominated County Histories bear eloquent testimony to the courage or callousness of our forefathers. On the one side, we perceive the suffering of mothers continually faced with the pangs of child-birth, and not less the suffering of children carried off by small-pox or consumption. On the other hand, it is necessary to recognize that large families were the only means of ensuring the survival of the race.⁴ The progress of science and

¹ See Robert Simpson's *History of Derby*, pp. 212-58, and the *Victoria County History of Derbyshire*, vol. ii., p. 145 ; also Glover's *History of Derbyshire*, vol. ii., under Ashbourne.

² Horace Walpole's *Letters* (vol. ii., pp. 127-65, of the Paget Toynbee edition) give a vivid impression of the deep alarm caused by the Young Pretender's adventure of the '45 and his unchecked advance to Derby.

³ See Cox's *Churches of Derbyshire* (four vols.), under Norbury and Somersall Herbert.

⁴ Wesley himself was one of a family of nineteen, of whom ten grew up (see *D.N.B.*). Southey, in his *Life of Wesley*, vol. i., p. 8 (Oxford ed., 1925), is mistaken in thinking that only six survived.

sanitation was painfully slow, and if birth-control had been practised in the eighteenth century the nineteenth century might have dawned upon a depopulated world.

' My childhood was spent in much simplicity and peace '—so Judith Beresford wrote to John Wesley on October 1, 1756, looking back, and describing the experience of her short life. The sentence is almost Wordsworthian, so unadorned and so sufficient. Her letters ¹—she signed herself to Wesley, with charming originality, ' Your very loving and (I hope) obedient child, J. B.'—give clear glimpses of her life.

Though she accuses herself of being, at the age of seventeen, ' indeed as bad as bad could be,' it is quite evident that she was a very ordinarily innocent girl. For being ' as bad as bad could be ' merely meant that she ' desired nothing but to be admired, and was filled with all that foolish vanity which poor young women are most prone to.' Just about this time—1750-1—there was a great talk of Methodism. One of Judith's cousins was brought under the sway of the movement. Judith went to stay with her in January 1751, and came away feeling that ' I was not what I ought to be.' Then in February 1752 her cousin died, and the mantle of Methodism thereupon descended upon her cousin's elder sister, and subsequently upon Judith herself. She now passed through a period of spiritual conflict, until in the beginning of the year 1755 ' we had preaching near Ashbourne.'

Judith does not give the preacher's name, but we know who it was, because, thanks to Wesley's insistence that the early Methodist preachers should write an account of their lives, we are able to travel back into the obscurest by-ways of the movement. The person whose preaching accomplished the final conversion of Judith Beresford was Thomas Hanby, at this time a young man of twenty-two. Judging by his

¹ As given in Wesley's *Journal*, vol. iv., pp. 207-9 (Standard edition).

picture—it may be seen in Curnock's great edition of Wesley's *Journal*¹—he must have been singularly attractive, his face looking frankly and benevolently at one, with its clean-cut features and winning expression, set off in one of those small, neatly powdered wigs of the time.

He was born at Barnard Castle, Durham, on December 16, 1733, his father being engaged in the woollen trade. His mother had a little property, and we gather that the family circumstances were, if not prosperous, at least not poor. The father, however, was rather too much addicted to the bottle; it was necessary for Thomas to learn a trade; he was accordingly apprenticed at twelve years of age, and became a skilled 'stuff-maker,' earning ample wages. By 1746 Methodism had already penetrated into the extreme north of England, and the young apprentice was partly converted at the tender age of thirteen. It was his custom 'to be much in the fields, praying and meditating,' and finally when he was about nineteen or twenty (1752-3) he received what he regarded as an imperative call. He had prayed for a sign: a dying woman told him to preach the gospel, and he obeyed.

Reading the lives of the early Methodist preachers, it is possible to perceive in a flash the immense power of the spiritual revival which Wesley and Whitefield had set in motion. In the historical fact of this revival there is indeed nothing peculiar: the Wesleyan movement was just one more of those overwhelming waves of evangelical piety which have followed one another at irregular—one might almost say at regular—intervals since the inception of Christianity. In the thirteenth century it is St. Francis of Assisi who lights the torch in Italy which spreads throughout the old world. In the eighteenth century it is John Wesley who renews the torch—which had flickered down and flared up at various intervals between: but this time the torch is

¹ Vol. vii., p. 108.

lighted in England, and spreads its beams into the remotest corners of the New World.

Wesley's itinerant preachers—who, of course, at this period still claimed to be faithful members of the Church of England—resembled the early Franciscan friars not only in their return to the simple, essential doctrine of the Gospels: they also freely accepted poverty, and endured its hardships. 'Sometimes,' says Hanby, 'if a halfpenny would have purchased the three kingdoms, I had it not for weeks together.'¹ Wesley, however, was far too wise a man to make a virtue merely of poverty; the early Methodist preachers were poor because they mostly had no private resources, and because their evangelical labours interfered with their ordinary business. Later on, as the organization developed, definite if limited provision was made for the needs of life. As for the accumulation of riches by the laity, through industry and frugality, Wesley approved, on one condition—that the rich gave abundantly of their riches. When he was a very old man, not long before his death in 1791, in his eighty-eighth year, he preached one of his most moving sermons on the subject of riches and their proper use. 'Hoard nothing. Lay up no treasure on earth, but give all you can, that is, all you have. I defy all the men upon earth, yea, all the angels in heaven, to find any other way of extracting the poison from riches. After having served you between sixty and seventy years, with dim eyes, shaking hands, and tottering feet, I give you this advice, before I sink into the dust.'

In 1754 Thomas Hanby was invited by 'Brother Mitchell' to visit the Staffordshire 'circuit.' Hanby cannot but have

¹ Thomas Hanby's autobiography will be found in *The Lives of Early Methodist Preachers, chiefly written by themselves*, edited by Thos. Jackson. I have used the 3rd edition, published with additional lives, in six vols., 1865-6. Vol. ii., pp. 181-46, contains Hanby's Life.

² Quoted in Southey's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii., p. 307 (Oxford edition).

received the invitation with mixed feelings, for Staffordshire was notorious for its riotous outbursts against Methodism. Indeed, an invitation to preach Methodism in Staffordshire in the middle of the eighteenth century meant an infinitely greater risk to life and limb than an invitation to-day to go tiger-hunting in an Indian jungle, or lion-shooting in the heart of Africa. It was not so long since Wesley himself had been severely mauled at Walsall. A maniacal mob dragged him through the town with torn clothes and bruised body, shouting 'Knock his brains out! Down with him! Kill him at once.' At last Wesley had made himself heard, and, as always happened when his calm voice was raised in such scenes, the tumult died down and the ringleader was changed completely round. 'Sir,' he said, 'I will spend my life for you! Follow me, and not one soul here shall touch a hair of your head.'

Into Staffordshire, therefore, Thomas Hanby, in obedience to Brother Mitchell's call, repaired, from thence going over the border into what he calls 'the wilds of Derbyshire.' We are to take the phrase literally, and to picture Judith Beresford's country-side as being as precipitous, wild, and beautiful, as that so faithfully depicted by her kinsman, Charles Cotton, in the second part of *The Compleat Angler*, three-quarters of a century before. 'Bless me,' says Viator, as he struggles to the hill-top overlooking Ashbourne, 'what mountains are here. Are we not in Wales?' 'No,' says Cotton (Piscator), 'but in almost as mountainous a country; and yet these hills, though high, bleak, and craggy, breed and feed good beef and mutton, above ground, and afford good store of lead within.' 'They had need,' replies the breathless Viator, 'of all those commodities to make amends for the ill landskip: but I hope our way does not lie over any of these, for I dread a precipice.' Cotton, of course, very cheerfully replies that it does, and so by degrees guides his anxious friend over five or six miles of precipice and stream

¹ See Wesley's *Journal* under date October 20, 1743.

to the remote hospitality of Beresford Hall, where a good dish of meat, washed down with excellent moorlands ale, makes amends for all the perils of the way.¹

Hanby says that no Methodist preacher had as yet—early in 1755—visited Ashbourne, and he was in a difficulty how he might introduce himself. Then he heard of a ‘serious man, Mr. Thomas Thompson, who kept the Toll-gate, about half a mile from the town.’ He visited, accordingly, the keeper of the toll-gate, who thereupon informed a few neighbours, Mr. Hurd—a gentleman farmer—Mr. Peach, and one or two others. He stayed at the toll-gate some days, preaching morning and evening to these few disciples, ‘who were deeply affected.’ He expounded part of the eighth chapter of St. Paul’s Epistle to the Romans. Nearly two centuries have passed, but the scene is vividly before us, there, in the toll-gate house: the devout toll-gate keeper now and again leaving the small band to let through a weary traveller on horseback, or a belated post-chaise on its way to Buxton, and returning to hear Mr. Hanby expounding words of mystical comfort and profound poetry: ‘There is therefore now no condemnation to them which are in Christ Jesus, who walk not after the flesh, but after the Spirit. . . . For they that are after the flesh do mind the things of the flesh; but they that are after the Spirit the things of the Spirit.’

Among those who came to hear Hanby was Judith Beresford. ‘Miss Beresford,’ says Hanby, ‘condescended to assemble with us; and the Lord opened her heart, as the heart of Lydia. When I had been preaching Christ as a fountain opened for sin and uncleanness, she cried out, “O precious gospel! O precious gospel.” From that time she continued steadfast.’

In Thomas Hanby’s ingenuous expression about Miss Beresford’s condescension in coming to hear him, the reader is by no means to allow his mind to wander to *Pride and*

¹ See *The Compleat Angler*, Part II., chap. ii.

Prejudice and Mr. Collins¹ : to do so would be to misconceive the spirit of eighteenth-century society in England, and to impute to that society the sordid snobbery which was the least pleasing aspect of the nineteenth century. For sordid snobbery consists not in the frank recognition of the ordering of society in ranks and classes, as of something natural, inherent, and accepted, but in the perpetual and uneasy consciousness of class, an eager hankering after social flesh-pots, coupled with a furtive contempt for, or jealousy of, one's more insignificant neighbour. In the eighteenth century nothing is more striking than the parallel existence of extraordinary inequalities of rank and wealth, and of a real spirit of fraternity. Those who are acquainted with Parson Woodforde's intimate picture of his time will find numerous illustrations of this statement.²

Thomas Hanby's expression, then, is not snobbish in the bad sense—if any one doubts this he must read the story of his life in full : but he was ingenuously pleased at Miss Beresford's presence at the toll-gate house, largely because the Methodist gospel so seldom attracted the squirearchy, and the ranks above the squirearchy. Whitefield—and no one will accuse Whitefield of being a snob who has the slightest acquaintance with his life—was ludicrously delighted at converting the famous Selina, Countess of Huntingdon. ‘A word in the lesson,’ he wrote to her, ‘when I was last with your ladyship, struck me : *Paul preached privately to those that were of reputation.* This must be the way, I presume, of dealing with the nobility,

¹ *Pride and Prejudice* was actually written, at the age of twenty-one, by Jane Austen in the last years of the eighteenth century, in 1796–7 : but Mr. Collins has much closer affinities with the figures in Thackeray's mid-nineteenth-century *Book of Snobs* than with eighteenth-century figures. It is significant that the word ‘snob’ in its modern meaning dates only from the nineteenth century (N.E.D.).

² *The Diary of a Country Parson* : vol. i. (1758–81) ; vol. ii. (1782–7), edited by the present writer.

who yet know not the Lord.'¹ Nevertheless, though Methodism achieved its immediate success mainly with the poor and suffering, it indirectly penetrated into all classes of society in due time, through the evangelical revival which it awakened in the Church of England itself.

Thomas Hanby now left Ashbourne and the toll-gate house, for a fortnight, to visit neighbouring villages. When he returned he found that the Commissioners of the Turnpike Road had forbidden their keeper, Mr. Thompson, to admit the Methodist preacher. We cannot blame the commissioners for their action. Quite apart from the possibility that while Mr. Thompson was engaged in prayer travellers might be kept waiting at the gate, the commissioners doubtless feared that the preaching might arouse that mob prejudice and fury against Methodism which caused the magistrates so much anxiety at this time. The fears of the commissioners were, in fact, amply justified. Finding the toll-gate house closed against him, Thomas Hanby would have been in a great difficulty had not Mr. Hurd, the gentleman farmer, pressed thereto by his converted family, allowed the preacher to use his house.

It was now, says Hanby, that a furious mob arose while I was preaching, and beset the house, and sprang in among us like so many lions. I soon perceived that I was the object of their rage. My mind was variously agitated : yet I durst not but cry aloud as long as I could be heard ; but at last I was overpowered with noise. Some of my friends, in defending me, were bleeding among the mob, and with difficulty I escaped out of their hands. But as Mr. Thompson, Mr. Isaac Peach, Mr. Hurd's family, Miss Beresford, and a few others remained steady, I was constrained to repeat my visits, till the Lord gave us peace. Mr. Thompson grew in the knowledge and love of God, till the Lord took him to Himself.²

It is doubtless to this scene that Judith Beresford refers

¹ Quoted in Southey's *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii., p. 194.

² Hanby's Life, see footnote p. 40 preceding.

when in writing to Wesley she speaks of being 'honoured with suffering a little for the name of Christ'.¹

Hanby's sufferings were by no means at an end. Leaving Ashbourne, after peace had been restored, he returned to Staffordshire, was nearly killed at an inn at Leek, had a narrow escape at a shoemaker's at Burton-upon-Trent, and then again nearly suffered death at Leek at the hands of a mob lead by a local lawyer. With vivid pathos he describes his situation :

In weariness and painfulness, in hunger and thirst, in joy and sorrow, in weakness and trembling, were my days now spent. And I have frequently thought, if God would excuse me from this hard task, how gladly would I embrace the life of a shoe-black or of a shepherd's boy. I was surrounded with death, and could seldom expect to survive another day, because of the fury of the people. And yet it was, 'Woe unto thee, if thou preach not the gospel.'

With these words we must take leave of Thomas Hanby, and return to Ashbourne, merely observing that Methodism may well be proud of this mild and heroic figure among its early preachers.

Early in February 1755 Judith's father died. From his will,² which he had made on January 30 of the previous year, being then 'weak in body but of a sound and disposeing mind and understanding praised be God for the same,' we get one or two social glimpses. In order to provide 'portions' for his daughter Judith, and his younger sons, he authorized his trustees to raise two thousand pounds out of his Fenny Bentley estate. Of this sum Judith was to receive one thousand pounds, and her younger brothers William and Francis five hundred pounds each. Richard, his heir, was provided for by entailed property, and the fourth surviving

¹ Wesley's *Journal*, vol. iv., p. 209.

² Preserved at the Probate Registry, Lichfield, from whence I obtained a copy.

son, Edward, by a benevolent uncle.¹ Judith's 'portion,' of one thousand pounds, seems small to modern notions, but in 1755 its purchasing power would be equivalent to perhaps four or five times that amount in present-day currency. Those were the days when it was possible to build a spacious country house for one thousand pounds, when eggs were four a penny even in winter, when five pounds a year was regarded as an ample wage for a maid-servant, and eight pounds a year for a manservant, and when five hundred pounds a year was the normal income of a country squire.²

John Beresford appointed as trustees for the 'portions' of Judith and his younger sons 'my good friend William ffitzherbert of Tissington in the county of Derby Esq^e and my dear Brother Gilbert Beresford of Baseford in the County of Nottingham Gentleman.' His good friend William FitzHerbert (1712-72) was the FitzHerbert who was also the friend of Dr. Johnson, of Garrick, and of Burke, sometime Member of Parliament for Derby, and a Lord of Trade and Plantation—an appointment also held, it will be remembered, by the historian Gibbon. We know from Boswell's *Life of Johnson* that Johnson 'never knew a man who was so generally acceptable.' That he had a pleasant sense of humour is clear from that excellent story to which Boswell does greater justice than the doctor. It appears that an affected gentleman, a certain John Cooper, was found one morning by FitzHerbert in a state of violent agitation on account of the illness of his son, who was at school. At

¹ Judith's brothers William and Edward became country parsons, Vicars respectively of Sonning, Berkshire, and Arnold, Notts. Francis became a prosperous Ashbourne solicitor; Richard, her elder brother, combined the duties of a country magistrate with those of a pleasing Court sinecure, to wit, that of Keeper of the King's Tennis Courts at Whitehall and Hampton Court (*Notes and Queries*, Ser. 12, vol. xii., pp. 146-7). He was my great-great-grandfather.

² See my *Diary of a Country Person*, vol. i., pp. 43-4 and pp. 71-3, for a comparison of prices and purchasing power in the middle decades of the eighteenth century. See also vol. ii., *passim*.

length Mr. Cooper, in the passion of his grief, cried out 'I'll write an elegy.' 'Mr. FitzHerbert,' says Boswell, 'being satisfied, by this, of the sincerity of his emotions, slyly said, "Had not you better take a post-chaise and go and see him." ' This, as Dr. Johnson observes, 'finished' Mr. Cooper.

William FitzHerbert's personality seems to be an excellent illustration of what was most distinctively and typically admirable in the eighteenth century: a man of friendly and most benevolent disposition, witty and reasonable, possessed of an instinctive love of the humanities, and a genuine sense of public duty and the public good. We do not definitely know what he thought of John Wesley and his itinerant preachers, but we cannot but suspect that he distrusted them. Methodism manifested itself in enthusiasm, and the moderate men of the eighteenth century, ascribing to enthusiasm the violent civil and religious turmoils and catastrophes of the preceding century, regarded it, not unnaturally, as a sort of plague. Indeed, even more than half a century later, early in the nineteenth century, Southey describes enthusiasm as a 'contagion.'

When therefore his ward, Judith Beresford, took to attending meetings of Methodists, we imagine that William FitzHerbert became uneasy, and that he was among those acquaintances whom Judith describes as becoming less fond of her company, 'and they that looked upon me shaked their heads.' And certainly she admits that 'from the time of my becoming serious, or rather beginning to aim at it,

¹ Boswell's *Life of Dr. Johnson*, vol. ii., p. 111 and footnote (Everyman edition). Burke, writing to Garrick in 1765, paid the following charming tribute to FitzHerbert: 'You know and love him; but I assure you, until we can talk some late matters over, you, even you, can have no adequate idea of the worth of that man' (Garrick's *Correspondence*, vol. i., p. 190).

² *Life of Wesley*, vol. ii., p. 47 (Oxford edition).

my health visibly declined.'¹ Every one now cried out that it was 'being too religious.' Perhaps the excess of her religious emotions hastened the decline of her health; on the other hand, it seems not unreasonable to suppose that failing bodily health had itself the effect of stimulating the mysterious existence of the soul. Soon it became evident to those who were near and dear to her that Judith Beresford was dying, and that they ought not to thwart her in her earnest preparation, so full of faith, of hope, and even of longing, for the supreme experience.

We are not aware that she ever saw John Wesley more than once, on that early morning of April 8, 1755, which was the occasion of his first visit to Ashbourne. But that single meeting sufficed to inspire her with lasting veneration and love, an illustration of the immense power of his personality. He evidently wrote to her from time to time, but none of his letters appears to have survived, and all that has survived of Judith's correspondence with him are the two letters which he has inserted in his *Journal*.

As long as her strength held out, from the spring of 1755 to the late autumn of 1756, Judith Beresford spent her life, not only in constant religious exercises, but in continual industry and works of charity. Country people are not apt to be impressed by an excess of piety, as manifested in religious observances, unless they are accompanied by good works: we take it, therefore, as an infallible testimony of Judith's goodness that it was still a common saying in the locality after her death: 'If Miss Beresford is not gone to heaven, nobody ever will.'

The Methodists might be described as the psycho-analysts of the eighteenth century, with this fundamental distinction—that they really tried to analyse the soul, whereas in our day modern analysis seems to be mainly of the body, and specially of its sexual complications.

'As to the shadows of the world,' wrote Judith Beresford

¹ Wesley's *Journal*, vol. iv., p. 209.

to John Wesley on September 7, 1756, 'I think I may truly say they are as nothing to me. The evil (for certainly it must be some) that at times interposes between God and my soul is, I believe, of a more spiritual nature. The stirrings of pride I sometimes feel, and, I trust, shall bewail as long as one spark remains.'

Early in November 1756 her bodily weakness became so great that she could not get up, and a little more than a month later, on December 8, 1756, she died. Sometimes in the intervals of suffering she would imagine that John Wesley was in the room beside her: 'Oh, sir,' she called out, 'how hard it is for the rich to enter into the kingdom of heaven ! I am saved ; but I am but just saved.'

The night before she died she dreamed a mystical dream. 'I dreamed last night,' she said, 'I heard a voice: *Christ will come to-day for His bride.* It is for me. He will come for me to-day.' And we are told that a few hours after, 'without one struggle, or sigh, or groan, she sweetly fell asleep.'

The great historian of rationalism, and of the eighteenth century, has summed up the benefits of the Evangelical Revival, set in motion by Wesley and Whitefield, with characteristic understanding and fairness. Among the chief of those benefits he deems the profound consolation which the doctrine of justification by faith has brought to those about to die. 'It has enabled thousands,' he says, 'to encounter death with perfect calm, or even with vivid joy, and has consoled innumerable mourners at a time when all the commonplaces of philosophy would appear the idlest of sounds.'¹ It is not a little notable that another and even greater historian has described this power of bringing supreme consolation as among the heroic glories of the Jesuit order even in its decline, and few people who have once read it will forget Macaulay's description of the Jesuit

¹ Lecky's *England in the Eighteenth Century*, vol. iii., p. 150 (Cabinet edition, 1895).

priest, undaunted in the agony of the cholera, holding up before the dying penitent the image of the Redeemer.¹

After all, there is no escape from the ultimate facts of life, and the efficacy of religious faith will always depend largely upon its consoling force in the hour of suffering. But in the story of Judith Beresford we are not concerned with any consideration of the varieties of religious experience, or with ulterior speculations. We are concerned simply with the story of a short life, illuminating with its mild beam an obscure corner of eighteenth-century England, and the personality of one of the greatest of men.

John Wesley transformed the spiritual life of the England of his day ; in the course of his amazing career, travelling on horseback never less than 4,500 miles each year, he visited every part of the United Kingdom numberless times, and became personally acquainted with a vaster number of his fellow beings than perhaps any other man who has ever lived. But he never forgot the 'sweet, though short-lived flower' whom he had once seen by the wayside for a brief moment as he rode through Ashbourne early in the morning of April 8, 1755. More than twenty years later, on May 3, 1776, when he was an old man of seventy-three, he wrote to a disciple whose personality brought to his mind the memory of that earlier morning :

Once I saw my dear friend, Miss Beresford : when I came again, she was in Abraham's bosom. Once I have seen her living picture, drawn by the same hand, and breathing the same spirit ; and I am afraid I shall hardly see you again till we meet in the Garden of God.²

JOHN BERESFORD.

¹ Macaulay's *History of England*, vol. ii., p. 56 (1849, 2nd ed.).

² Letter to Miss Hester Roe, Wesley's *Works*, vol. xiii., p. 75.

RUDOLF EUCKEN, THE MAN AND THE THINKER

THE fourscore years of Rudolf Eucken's life, that ended at Jena last September, cannot be called eventful. Born in Frisia in 1846, he passed, during his student days at Göttingen, under the influence of Lotze and Trendelenburg. Whilst he does not seem to have received his leading ideas from either, it is not difficult to trace their indirect influence at least upon his thought. After a brief period as professor of philosophy at Basel, in 1874 he accepted the same position at Jena, and for forty-six years continued there, teaching and writing with untiring energy. His influence was somewhat slow in spreading in this country and in America, but for ten years before the war his books appeared in considerable numbers in English translations rendered by various translators, though perhaps Mr. and Mrs. Boyce Gibson and Dr. Tudor Jones did more than any one else to make known and popularize his views in England. Glasgow University made him an honorary D.D. in 1910, and two American universities conferred degrees upon him. In time his writings spread east as well as west, and found a ready sale in Japanese translations. He received the Nobel prize for literature in 1908. At the outbreak of the war his influence was at its height so far as this country was concerned. Eucken's sympathies were naturally patriotic, but, in view of his cordial relations with English people, some of us regretted that he was amongst the band of professors who signed the celebrated anti-British manifesto. When the war was over, Eucken was an old man on the verge of retirement. Still, neither this nor his anti-British utterance explains why his philosophy of Activism, as it was labelled, has dropped so speedily out of contemporary British thought. Intellectual relations with Germany have been resumed, and German professors have

been lecturing before British universities. It is not, therefore, the lingering of war prejudice that has diminished Eucken's influence in this country. Rather is it the intrinsic character of Eucken's philosophy that has brought about its own decline. There have always been systems of philosophy which have appealed to a generation strongly, and failed entirely to grasp the mind of the next. Such was Herbert Spencer's fate, and such, though for very different reasons, seems likely to be the fate of Eucken. Perhaps this may be clearer if we attempt to epitomize Eucken's leading positions.

Like other thinkers, Eucken began with historical and critical studies. He first appeared as a keen student of Aristotle, and the earliest of his books that attracted attention were *A History of Philosophical Terminology* (1879) and *Fundamental Concepts of the Present Day*. As the titles indicate, they represent Eucken's effort to master the thought of others before adventuring upon constructive work. The third edition of the latter book, however, appeared under the title *Spiritual Movements of the Present Day* (1904), and the change marked the establishment of Eucken's own characteristic philosophy, which was variously expressed in a number of volumes, of which *Life's Basis and Life's Ideal* and *The Truth of Religion* are perhaps the most important.

It is often the best way to trace what a writer wishes to reach by asking what he wishes to avoid. Eucken's bugbears were Naturalism and Intellectualism. He opposed Naturalism because it exalted sense over spirit, Intellectualism because it exalted the abstract over the active, and both because they expressed the wrong type of thinking. Rightly, one thinks, he held that a philosophy is not a spinning of pleasing fancies, or even the construction of a logical network of ideas, but the expression of a life. Both Naturalism and Intellectualism could be expressed as consistent philosophies, Eucken admitted, but they were the expression of the

wrong type of life. It would seem natural to suppose from this that Eucken would have been sympathetic towards Pragmatism ; but, despite this affinity of opposition, there is between them little or no affinity of construction, and it is not in common disagreement that connexion can be found. A church and a public-house may be alike engaged in opposing a new licence in a certain district, but manifestly their common disagreement with the proposed new licence indicates no community of principles. This is the reply to those who expected Eucken's Activism to turn out into a kind of German Pragmatism. The ideals of the two systems are different, and Eucken broke much less definitely with philosophical traditions than Perth agmatists.

Eucken held as firmly as St. Paul the contrast and conflict between the flesh and the spirit, and he presented the opposition sharply—life is either one or other. Both co-exist, but one only can rule. Like St. Paul, too, he had his doctrine of 'grace,' for the life of the spirit was not a development of the natural life. It develops only when a definite break has been made with the natural. This break he called the 'negative movement,' and counted it as essential to the attainment of a spiritual point of view as the mystics counted the stage of purification essential for those who would see the beatific vision. The life of the spirit is autonomous, primary, 'heroic.' The life of the senses is subordinate and 'petty.' In contrast with those philosophies of materialism which reduce the things of spirit to an 'epiphenomenon,' a mere aura or glow that shines fitfully about the primary reality of the senses, Eucken counted the spiritual life of man a definite expression of the reality which philosophy seeks. When the 'negative movement' has reduced sense-life to its proper place, the 'positive movement' begins to seek spiritual reality.

The fundamental conviction, therefore, of Eucken's philosophy was that human life was not a mere piece of nature, but that a new phase of reality was manifested ;

when human life came into being. This reality he called the Spiritual Life (*Geistesleben*). We must recollect that this term was used by Eucken in this special sense, and must divest it of the narrower connotation it holds usually for us. Embedded within the Spiritual Life are all the mental activities of man—art and science, morality and religion, and, of course, philosophy. Indeed, it was from philosophy that he started to discover the Spiritual Life. He held that a consistent philosophy would lead us to see that it must presuppose an objectively real and coherent system revealed in our experience, and that such a system was the Spiritual Life. A true philosophy is, therefore, as such, an expression from one side at least of the Spiritual Life.

Still further, Eucken offered the doctrine of the Spiritual Life as a religious philosophy. Throughout the whole of his works he so treated it, and yet one fundamental point seems never to have been cleared up—namely, what is the precise relation of God to the Spiritual Life? He maintained that the Spiritual Life was personal, and at times one concludes that God and the Spiritual Life are identical. Other passages distinguish them, and suggest that the Spiritual Life is the life of God that man can share; others suggest that the Spiritual Life is that which alone is fully possessed by God. This uncertainty as to the precise relationship of God to the Spiritual Life is reminiscent of the uncertainty of the relation between God and the Idea of the Good in Plato. Most of Plato's interpreters identify the two; others decline to believe that Plato intended to do this. Perhaps, regarding Eucken's view, the following passage is as clear as any (*Truth of Religion*, pp. 208-9): 'The pathway which leads to the conception of God leads us at the same time to the content which the conception can have for us. It signifies to us nothing other than an Absolute Spiritual Life in its grandeur above all the limitations of man and the world of experience—a Spiritual Life that has

attained to a complete subsistence in itself, and at the same time to an encompassing of all reality.' The meaning would seem to be that the various conceptions of God—the God of religion, the God of metaphysical thought—are united in the conception of the Spiritual Life. Eucken preferred the term Godhead to God. He considered that the attribution of personality to God tended to Anthropomorphism, the denial to Pantheism ; and, although he stretched the term personal to apply to the Spiritual Life, it was only to guard against Naturalism, and to emphasize the pre-eminence of personality as the expression of the Spiritual Life. Whilst, then, Eucken regarded the Spiritual Life as the only conception that could give meaning to the idea of God, and in that sense as the life of God, the ambiguity regarding the being of God and the life of God remained throughout unilluminated. It is on this account that one judges that the religious character of Eucken's philosophy was imparted by Eucken's own reading of it, not by the nature of the philosophy itself. There is nothing to prevent the coupling of the idea of the Spiritual Life with the type of thought represented by Professor Alexander's *Space, Time, and Deity*, and to regard it as the gradual manifestation of an emergent God.

Of this perhaps Eucken could hardly be aware, for these conceptions have developed since he wrote, but certainly Eucken was not unaware that the conception of the Spiritual Life might lend itself to Pantheism. He sought to safeguard himself against this by asserting the facts of personality and of freedom. Eucken, however, contrasted 'individual' and 'personal.' Individualism he held to be gross self-assertion or self-interest, which can justify itself only by the abhorred philosophy of Naturalism. Although man possesses being-for-self (*Fürsichsein*) as the inborn basis of personality, this being-for-self can develop into personality only within the Spiritual Life, and in the Spiritual Life also alone can man attain to freedom of the will. Like Bergson, Eucken regarded freedom as a fact which is immediately realized,

but can neither be proved nor disproved by argument. Action, not ratiocination, is the key to unlock the truth concerning freedom, and in this respect Eucken was right. In the Spiritual Life man is also immortal, but it is one of the limitations of Eucken's doctrine as a philosophy of religion that the question of immortality occupied only a subordinate place, and did not seem to interest Eucken further than a bare assent signifies interest.

A further limitation of Eucken's philosophy which bears particularly upon its character as religious philosophy is its defective appreciation of psychology. This is the more strange since Eucken denounced Intellectualism and all its methods unstintingly, and the very name of Activism recalls his insistence that life, not intellect, is foremost, and that we may live out the problems we cannot think out. In view of this, one would have expected that psychology would have appealed to him. Yet he virtually ignored it. Consequently, a work like *The Truth of Religion* is a metaphysical, not a psychological, study. Religious experience, faith, prayer, worship, are ignored, as are all other forms of religion except Christianity, and Christianity is represented, not as a religion of history or of experience, but as an expression of Eucken's own philosophy. Not unnaturally, he had to treat Christianity in a somewhat rough fashion to shape it to such a function. Yet some of his interpreters have claimed that he gave a philosophical restatement and development of the teaching of Jesus. The accuracy of this may be questioned if we consider how free was Eucken's treatment of the subject.

Initially, his attitude to historical Christianity was somewhat biased by an early orthodox training, from which he revolted wholesale. He rejected all the traditional doctrines *en bloc*, without discrimination, and, one must add, without asking if they were capable of any meaning deeper than that of a rather crude literalism which he read into them. Yet, for him, Christianity was the absolute and perfect

religion, because it was emphatically the religion of the spirit, and the religion of a redemption that was not intellectual, but ethical. It was, however, a new Christianity which he demanded, a Christianity without a divine Christ, and without an atonement. If this is a restatement of Christ's teaching, a combination of ingenuity and violence must be applied, not only to the Fourth Gospel, but to the Synoptics. It is not a matter of orthodoxy versus unorthodoxy, but of simple historical testimony. Eucken was free to reject the essential claims of Christianity, but his admirers are not free to call the twisted framework, left after Eucken's handling, a restatement of Christ's teaching, nor to identify the gospel of Jena with the gospel of Galilee.

If, however, we recollect this, we can appreciate Eucken's appreciation of Christianity. It was not historic Christianity that he had in mind in the volume *Can We Still be Christians?* but his own estimation of Christianity as a spiritual movement. 'The maintenance of Christianity,' said Eucken, 'requires considerable changes in its traditional form. Religion must enter into closer touch with human activity, and at the same time become a more powerful leaven in the world. The Spiritual Life must be more independent of man's character and condition, and must overcome within itself the opposition between personal and impersonal modes of conceiving it, which it can do only by advancing to an essentially higher level. In the idea of redemption the positive and renewing aspect must play a more important part. Christian morality must form the higher level along which further progress is to be made. The central fact of religion must be shifted farther back; it must now be the upbuilding of a new life for man and for mankind, and must thus become more intimately related to the soul. Finally, the Church must become a repository of the facts and tasks of life itself' (*Can We Still be Christians?* p. 188).

The passage is a fair example of Eucken's writing. It contains no unintelligible phrases, but few intelligible ideas.

What he really requires is put so vaguely that a dozen different interpretations might be made of it, all with a good show of plausibility. Moreover, the utter unpracticality of it all is manifest. It is very easy to say Christianity must do this and be that, but Eucken gave us not a glimmering of any actual means by which the existing Christian religion could move on these lines. General directions are apt to be annoying to those who are burdened with practical problems, and one expects something more definite from a philosopher who laid such insistence on the paramount importance of life and activity. Eucken definitely denied the possibility of any reform within existing Catholicism or Protestantism that could bring about the changes he desired. He demanded a new form of Christianity, but showed not a single idea as to its actual attainment. One is reminded of the story of the man who applied to a great French general, saying he had invented a new religion and wished to know how to spread it. The reply was that the most successful founder of a faith established his religion upon a cross, and the inventor might try the same means! Whatever be the theory, or lack of theory, of Atonement, it remains an historical fact that the ethic of Christianity was established through the story of the divine sufferer upon the cross. Having removed the dynamo, Eucken told us that the system must now be made to run more effectively. It reveals a pathetic ignorance of human psychology to imagine that vague exhortations from a professorial chair can remove the mountains of selfishness and sin, and establish a new ethical ideal. Sin is based upon strong instinctive tendencies, and those tendencies cannot be removed or sublimated without a great emotional effort. The Cross has been the fount of love, and has proved itself the only power sufficient for the practical problem of fighting sin. It has been distorted by false theories of atonement, by fantastic theologies of God and man, but the millions who have begun a new life at the Cross have known little of this. Yet their lives

have witnessed that atonement—at-one-ment—between God and man can be a fact, whether or not we can have a theory about it.

We must conclude, therefore, that Eucken's hope of Christianity as a progressive historic movement, supplying strength to the Spiritual Life against the opposition of the life of the senses, was vain. Once more his inadequate psychology is to blame. No one who understands human nature, as modern psychology analyses it, could have written as Eucken did. There is an essential nobility in Eucken's conceptions, with nothing but indefiniteness as regards their concrete expression. That one believes to be the reason why Eucken proved so attractive for a while, and has lost influence so rapidly. He drew attention by the spirituality of his ideal, but, as it became more evident that the ideal had no provision for realizing itself, his followers began to lose interest. Despite the number of his pupils, Eucken does not seem to have left a school, or even a single follower of eminence, to carry on his ideas. He appears destined to remain as a man who had a vision and no more. If Eucken had propounded a philosophical scheme on intellectual lines much of this criticism would have been beside the point. Philosophers aim at a rational system, but not at establishing a life-movement. Eucken, however, insisted that it is life, not philosophy, that must solve our problems, and his failure to appreciate the actual conditions of the working of men's minds was therefore far more serious for him than it would have been for the academic philosopher. Eucken spoke a great deal about life-problems. One cannot say that he solved any, or even suggested the way to a solution. Yet, if he failed to tell us how to act, at least he saw that action was a contribution to philosophy, and that philosophy was a matter of life, not of mind. In this he is joined to the Pragmatists, but it remains to be seen whether their interpretation of the position he and they shared in common is not the better one. Eucken was

representative of a tendency that has been strongly manifest in the modern reaction against Intellectualism—the tendency to seek in instinct and intuition that which mere rationality fails to supply. But the insufficiency of his appreciation of human character and motives debarred him from effectively applying his own convictions, and it is not altogether surprising that such modification of his views as was apparent during his lifetime was in the direction of Monism and Absolutism.

Outstanding and inspiring as was Eucken's conception of the Spiritual Life, it is difficult to resist the impression that he expected too much from it. Intellect cannot solve ultimate problems, he asserted, but the Spiritual Life can. If we ask how, we are told 'By action.' That may be so, but it does not help us intellectually. Yet Eucken utilized this method to enable him to take both sides of an intellectual antinomy as true, and took refuge, when challenged, in the reconciliation which he avowed the Spiritual Life afforded. It may be that, for example, in ordinary religious experience the intellectual contradiction between human freedom and divine omnipotence obtains a practical working solution, but that does not help the philosopher who wants to understand how the two can co-exist. It is not otherwise when Eucken referred all antinomies to the arbitration of the Spiritual Life. Such a proceeding is no more satisfactory to philosophy than the more naïve but not dissimilar statement that all will be put right in heaven. The waning of interest in Eucken's philosophy seems due in some part to the conviction of those who have studied it that it offers ideals rather than ideas.

Eucken's style was never a happy one. It was diffuse, not to say vague or wordy, and he seemed to lose himself, or perhaps his meaning, in his own ecstatic eloquence. What he meant at times no one knows; perhaps he did not. Equally so with his philosophy. There is only one idea in it that really appeals—the idea of the life of man as an

expression of the movement of a spiritual reality. But a philosophy is judged by its details. Nothing shows the mastery of Aristotle more surely than the completeness with which he works out his thought. Eucken, to use an expressive colloquialism, never 'got there.' There was something unfinished alike in style and thought, and for this reason Eucken will not be numbered amongst the world's great thinkers. He was for an age, but not for all time. Eucken's popularity amongst his students was due rather to his personal qualities. His lectures were delivered with eloquence and feeling, forcefulness and geniality, mingled with courtesy and humour. 'Gelehrten' are not always attractive personalities. Eucken was, and his personal qualities invested his philosophy with an attractiveness which one imagines it will lack for those who did not know him personally. Eucken was a curious blend of the old-fashioned philosopher and the oratorical type of preacher. The outlook of science was seldom in evidence in what he wrote, and he did not seem to realize the full implications of the theory of evolution. For him, the Spiritual Life separated man from the brute creation, just as surely as did reason mark out man as distinct from other species, from the days of the Greeks to Darwin, and concrete life, sense-experience, was thrust aside in favour of the conception of man as a focal point of Spiritual Life.

One does not wish to close an account of a thinker so high-minded as Eucken in a critical mood. It is easy to disparage.

Lightly they'll talk of the spirit that's gone,
And o'er his cold ashes upbraid him.

One must rather, when all criticism has been passed, see in Rudolf Eucken an earnest seeker, imbued with an inspiring thought—that life was spiritual activity, and apart from that man merely existed. In that Eucken saw and testified to truth.

E. S. WATERHOUSE.

'RITUAL AND BELIEF IN MOROCCO'

THE University of Helsingfors granted Dr. Westermarck a handsome travelling-scholarship, which enabled him to sail for Morocco in 1898 in order to acquire first-hand knowledge of forms of belief altogether different from our own. He soon found what a serious task he had undertaken. Between 1898 and 1926 he has made twenty-one journeys to Morocco, and has spent there altogether seven years. He visited tribes in various parts of the country, and employed as teachers natives of tribes to which he could not go himself. The results are seen in two illustrated volumes, which appear at a moment when Morocco is much in the eyes of the world. It is not easy to do justice to the learning and research which Professor Westermarck has lavished on his work. It will certainly take its place on the shelves where Sir James Frazer's volumes have long held such a position of honour.

The Muhammadans of Morocco are chiefly of the Berber race, though their language has largely been superseded by that of the Arab conquerors. Berber is despised as a barbarous jargon, and the natives who have learned Arabic are often ashamed to speak it. Dr. Westermarck's Berber teachers were surprised and pleased at the interest he took in their language. They were wonderfully patient and accurate. The Berbers do not like the Arab-speaking natives of the plains, whom they regard as brutal and filthy in their habits. The Rifians are considered to be a much better race. Some of the tribes live in houses, but most of the Arabs and the Berber tribes in the neighbourhood of Ujda live in tents. There were nomadic Berbers living in tents before the arrival of the Bedouins in the eleventh century.

'Ritual and Belief in Morocco.' By Edward Westermarck, Ph.D. Two volumes. (Macmillan & Co. 50s. net.)

At the time of the Arab invasion there were a number of christianized Berber tribes, though Christianity does not seem to have gained any considerable hold. The idea that the cross in modern Berber tattooing and ornamentation is a relic of Christian influence is the more unwarranted as the cross is also seen as an ornament of the ancient Egyptian representations of Libyans, but the Sunday rest observed by some Berber women near Fez is probably a Christian survival. Dr. Westermarck thinks that a very large part of the Berbers are members of a race which once spread over the Mediterranean basin. They have black hair and brown eyes, but there is also an appreciable element of blondness.

Dr. Westermarck holds that in religion man attempts to influence supernatural agents by natural means, such as prayers, offerings, abstinences, and so forth; in magic he attempts to influence either natural or supernatural objects or persons by supernatural means, which act mechanically. In Morocco *baraka*, or 'blessing,' which may be translated 'holiness,' is used to denote a mysterious wonder-working force regarded as a blessing from God. A person who possesses *baraka* in an exceptional degree is called by a term corresponding to our 'saint.' No man possessed more of it than Muhammad, from whom it passes to the *shereefs*, or descendants of his daughter Fatimah. The oldest family of *shereefs* in Morocco are direct descendants of the first emperor. 'The acting head of their house and depositary of its *baraka* is in some parts of the country more influential than the Sultan. On coming to the throne the latter seeks the ratification and blessing of the great Shereef of Wazzan, and in times of difficulty has not infrequently appealed to him for assistance. There is a saying that although the Wazzan Shereef can rule as sultan, no sultan can rule without the support of the great Shereef of Wazzan. He is the object of pilgrimage from all parts of northern Africa; nay, Muhammadans have even travelled from India to gain

his blessing, and when one of the late bearers of the name made the journey to Mecca, he was even there the object of marked veneration, the worshippers actually leaving the Ka'bah to prostrate themselves before him.' The Sultan not only has the *baraka* of another family of *shereefs*, but also that of the sultanship, 'the vicegerent of God on His earth.' This is conferred on him every morning by forty saints, or, according to another account, one super saint, who holds his right hand over the Sultan's head like an umbrella. The welfare of the whole country is said to depend on the Sultan's *baraka*. 'When it is strong and unpolluted the crops are abundant, the women give birth to good children, and the country is prosperous in every respect.' The natives of Tangier attributed the exceptionally good sardine summer of 1908 to the new Sultan. The loss of his predecessor's *baraka* was said to have shown itself in disturbances and troubles, in drought and famine, and in the fruit falling from the trees before it was ripe. If a saint eats food in the presence of his servant on the last day they spend together, and then tells him to eat what is left, and if, when the meal is finished, the saint says, 'You have taken the loaf of bread,' that means that he has now partaken of his *baraka*. A young merchant at Mequinez is said to have received articles for sale from his father at Fez, but was unable to return any payment for them. When he heard that his father was coming he asked his friend, a famous saint, what he should do. The saint gave him something to put in his shop at the place where he sat. When the father came and asked for his money, the son put his hand underneath his clothes and pulled out such a quantity of money that his father had to tell him to stop. Ever since there have been numbers of saints and learned men in that family. The *baraka* may be transferred from one person to another against the will of its possessor. The Wazzan *shereefs* are said to rob other *shereefs* who visit them of their *baraka*, should they leave behind any remains

of their meal, even though it be only a bone. Other *shereefs* are afraid of shaking hands with a Wazzan *shereef*, and pilgrims from the sanctuary of one of the great saints do not return by Wazzan, but choose a longer route, for fear that they might be deprived of the *baraka* brought from the holy shrine. *Shereefs* are afraid to allow their hands to be kissed lest they should lose their *baraka*. The saying that 'the servant of men is their lord' means that by bringing them food and drink and pouring water over their hands he appropriates their *baraka*.

Sainthood may be gained by extraordinary piety and devotion, by incessant praying, fasting, giving abundance of food to the scribes and alms to the poor, and by abstaining from every forbidden act. Little children have much *baraka*, being too young to sin. They know the language of angels and hear their conversation, as they hear the talk and crying of dead persons. Morocco is full of holy places said to be connected with departed saints. The grave of an important saint is often marked by a cenotaph, like a large chest covered with coloured cloth. Many saintly places in North Morocco contain one or more cannon-balls. It is said that when the Sultan wanted to shoot some protégé of a saint, the latter attracted the bullet so that it fell down in his sanctuary. Dr. Westermarck gives many instances of the prevalence of *baraka* and the resort made to it for sick children and other sufferers. There are trees and rocks which are said to work miracles, and healing springs are often connected with saint-shrines. In Andjra a man who is going on a journey gathers seven small stones, spits on each of them, and places them outside the house to protect the women. He also breathes on some salt and throws it on the house. If burglars come it is believed that the stones and salt will shower upon them like bullets and powder, so that they will look on the house as haunted and will run away.

The horse has much *baraka*. If it is of high blood it is

like a *shereef*, and confers blessing on its owner and his house. Dogs are regarded as unclean, but the greyhound is said to have *baraka*, and a good hunting-dog is specially honoured. The cat has some *baraka*. It makes ablutions and says prayers every day, and it is good to eat food of which a cat has eaten part. These ideas seem to have an Islamic origin. According to a tradition known in Morocco, the Prophet was so fond of a cat that he cut off the sleeve of his robe on which it was resting, that he might not disturb its sleep.

Like all Muhammadans, the Moors believe in a race of spiritual beings, or jinns, who were created before man. They have no bodies, but often look like men when they mix with them in the market. One jinn is said to have studied the Koran for twelve years in a village mosque. When he left he told his companion who he was, and took him to a spring, where they made ablutions and prayer; then the lad closed his eyes, and when he opened them was in a district which he had never seen before. He was hospitably entertained for three days, and then returned in the same fashion, with presents of silver, gold, and fine clothes. Strange beliefs are associated with the jinns. To get angry whilst eating is dangerous, for the jinns will take possession of the person. It is harmful to awake a sleeper too suddenly; it should be done slowly and gently, by touching his little finger or using the palm of one's hand and saying, 'God be praised.'

The fireplace and the threshold are said to be haunted. No one is allowed to sit on the threshold of a house or at the entrance of a tent. A bride is carried across the threshold. Dr. Westermarck heard of a man who moved out of his house every night for fear of jinns. 'Very many Moors are afraid of sleeping alone in a room, especially if the door is left open; and to sleep on a staircase is regarded as particularly dangerous. If anybody knocks at your door when it is dark, you should not open it for him, but tell him

to come back next day.' Indeed, if any one calls you at night, you ought not to answer till he has called three times, as it may otherwise be a jinn. Candles are burnt to keep them away, for they are terrified by light. They also abhor salt, which many Moors put under their pillows, or hold in their hands if they go out at night. Other means are used to keep these mischievous spirits at a distance. Sometimes, however, the jinns are friendly and can be called in to help in peril or perplexity.

The jinn has no distinct personality, but is only one of a group or clan. Different tribes of them may vary in religion, disposition, and colours, and may attack people in different circumstances and on different days. Some other spirits present characteristics of their own. Of these Dr. Westermarck gives many interesting particulars. The evil eye is another frequent source of misfortune. It is said that it 'owns two-thirds of the graveyard,' and that 'one half of mankind dies from the evil eye.' 'So firmly is the evil eye believed in that, if some accident happens at a wedding or any other feast where a person reputed to have an evil eye is present, it is attributed to him, and he may have to pay damages; and if such a person looks at another's animal and it shortly afterwards dies, he is likewise held responsible for the loss.' Strange stories are told about this superstition. When the look is accompanied with words of praise the danger is considered so great that it is always necessary to add '*t'bark Allah*'—'may God be blessed.' Deep-set eyes, and eyebrows that meet together, are considered particularly dangerous. The eyes of women—especially old women—are feared more than those of men. 'At feasts the women are allowed to eat first, since otherwise they might injure the men with their evil eyes. Once when I was sitting at my writing desk, one of my servants rushed into my room and quickly closed the window-shutters; and when I, somewhat surprised, asked him why he thus shut out the light from me, he answered that some women had come to

fetch water from the garden outside my cottage, and that he could not allow me to be exposed to their glances while I was writing. The glance of the bride is held to be injurious to others.' In one region it is believed that misfortune would befall any person or animal the bride looked at before she had seen her husband on her arrival at his house; other tribesmen maintain that if she looked at any one on her way to the bridegroom's place there would be fighting and manslaughter at the wedding that very day. The safest way to escape mischief is to avoid exposure altogether. If a man is going to market and meets some one who has the evil eye he is wise to turn back. The mountaineers of Andjra paint spots of henna on the top of their heads when they are afraid of being hurt by the evil eye. The *shereefs* of Wazzan are known to protect their greyhounds from the evil eye by smearing their heads and feet with henna, which is red and has its own *baraka*. Saffron and yellow are other colours that are said to act as a charm against the evil eye. A looking-glass is also used because it throws back the malignant glance. The fingers of the right hand will be stretched out towards a suspected person, with the phrase 'Five in your eye.' The number five itself has thus become a charm against the evil eye.

Witchcraft is practised by the aid of jinns whose names are written on charms. Those written by scribes easily lose their efficacy; a woman's enchantment has generally a more enduring effect. A Berber from Glawi told Dr. Westermarck that an old hag in a neighbouring tribe once transformed eight scribes into sheep, and that the enchantment lasted till a clever magician buried the hag alive and read incantations over the sheep, sprinkling them with earth. The sorcery of women is specially rife at certain seasons, and they are said to begin to victimize their husbands at the wedding, and to keep doing it as long as the marriage lasts. All kinds of strange rites are practised at weddings in order that male offspring may be secured. 'The wedding

is a blessed occasion from which those who take part in it, and even the community at large, expect various benefits. For marriage is a good thing, approved of by religion and contributing to the happiness and comfort of life. If a person in travelling comes to a village where a wedding is going on, he should stop there overnight or at any rate join in the feast.'

The Moors believe that the soul is absent from the body during sleep, and what is seen or heard in dreams is a reality. If you dream of a departed member of your family you should give alms at his grave or otherwise on his behalf. One of Dr. Westermarck's servants dreamed that a raw piece of meat rose in his throat and issued from his mouth. A scribe whom he consulted told him that the meat was his sins, which were leaving him.

The rites and beliefs connected with the Muhammadan Calendar give a vivid picture of religion in Morocco. 'The fast of Ramadan is regarded as of supreme importance. Many neglect their daily prayers, but the fast is rigorously kept, and travellers and invalids, on whom it is not incumbent, do not readily take advantage of that privilege. To keep Ramadan brings pardon for all past faults, and the reward of a pilgrimage for God's sake is Paradise.' The eve of Ramadan is announced at sunset by the firing of cannon. At Fez and other towns after the call to sunset prayer a long, straight trumpet is blown for five or ten minutes. This is repeated for a quarter of an hour after the call to evening prayer from the tower of the mosque ; next morning the trumpet is blown for an hour. Every evening and morning through the month this is repeated. Fasting is enjoined from daybreak to sunset. From sunset to the hour of morning prayer people are allowed to eat, drink, smoke, and amuse themselves as much as they please. Those who are well-to-do make up abundantly for the privations of the day. Breakfast follows sunset, and two hours before dawn there is another meal. 'The night of

power,' on which the Koran is said to have been sent down, is held to be of more value than a thousand months. It is one of the last ten nights of Ramadan, and among some of the Arabs and Rifians the whole Koran is recited during the night. When the feast is over, alms are given to the poor. If this is not done Ramadan will be hanging between heaven and earth. A sacrificial feast is held in the last month of the year. Men and boys have their heads shaved, and many take a bath. In Fez the barbers' shops and the hot baths are kept open during the night preceding this Great Feast. In the morning new clothes are put on, and those who can afford it wear new slippers. Henna is freely used on hands and feet, not only as a cosmetic, but to protect against evil influences. The children go about asking for presents of food or money. A sheep or some other animal is sacrificed by each head of a family. Sometimes a man who has many sheep sacrifices one for himself and one for his wife or each of his wives. Plays and masquerades are also connected with the Great Feast.

A first-born son is very frequently called Muhammad, and in many parts this is always done, unless the child is born after the death of his father or a saint has been asked to bring him into being. In one region, if the father is a holy man, he may give his own name, whatever it is, to his son, to impart *baraka* to him. In other circumstances a son is called by the name of a living father only if the name is Muhammad. If that were not done, it is believed that the father or the son would soon die. The first daughter is called after the Prophet's daughter Fatimah. At Fez, when parents cannot decide upon the name to be given to their child, they go to the gate of the house, and the first name for a person of the sex of the child which they happen to hear is given to it. At Aglu a common method of finding a name for the child is to take some three or four small sticks and give a name to each of them, and then to ask the first person who appears to draw

one of the sticks, the name of which is given to the child.

When any one is near death his close relatives who live in the same town or village meet in his chamber. The Koran is recited till the moment of death. A little honey is put into the dying person's mouth, and at the last moment some water is dropped into it to moisten the throat. The eyes are closed and the arms straightened along the body. Near relatives kiss the forehead, face, or mouth. The body is then laid on a mat on the floor, with the face turned towards Mecca. It is covered, and the room fumigated to perfume the air and drive away evil spirits. In many cases one or two candles are lighted, even in the daytime; then the door is closed and the dead is left alone. The body is washed and dressed, and a band of scribes recite the Koran in the open centre of the house. When they finish and have received payment, another band comes, and sometimes, if the family is well off, the whole Koran is thus repeated.

On the first night after the funeral angels are said to examine the dead man, and, if they find fault with him, to punish him by flogging. Some persons arrange their own funeral, and are believed to go to Paradise if they live blamelessly ever after and provide what is necessary for the funeral by work specially performed for that purpose.

Dr. Westermarck pays tribute to Mr. Budgett Meakin's books on Morocco, and his own seven years' research pours a flood of light on a strange world which waits for the entrance of a brighter and happier faith.

THE EDITOR.

THE FOURTH GOSPEL AND MANDAEAN GNOSTICISM

THE Dean of St. Paul's, in his brilliant essay on St. Paul, remarks, 'It was as a mystery-religion that Europe accepted Christianity.' A dozen years or so ago, when Dr. Inge perpetrated this epigram in the *Quarterly Review*, it was still the fashion to follow Reitzenstein in Germany and Lake in the English-speaking world in their contention that under Paul's influence the simple Galilean gospel had been transformed into a Christ-cult modelled on the rites of Isis, or Osiris, or Cybele; or, if this is an exaggeration, at least that Pauline Christianity was largely an adaptation of these pagan Mysteries. Now, one weakness in the case of those who made this attempt is the undeniable use of baptism in primitive Christianity. Paul assumes it as the normal rite accompanying confession of faith and admission into the Christian society. The close connexion of the ministry of Jesus with that of John the Baptist, and the statement in the Fourth Gospel that some of John's disciples passed over into the discipleship of Jesus, increase the probability that the custom of baptizing originated with the great Forerunner, and was continued by those followers of his movement who attached themselves to Jesus. This is far more probable than any far-fetched analogies with Hellenistic cults. But the same Reitzenstein, whose fertile imagination did so much to find and marshal evidence in support of the earlier theory, has been engaged in profound researches into the Iranian Redemption Mystery, and has published several books and pamphlets¹ to show the bearing of this subject, not only upon the early history of Manicheeism

¹ *Das mandäische Buch des Herrn der Grösse und die Evangelienüberlieferung* (Heidelberg, 1919); *Das iranische Erlösungsmysterium* (Bonn, 1921); also the second edition of *Die hellenistischen Mysterienreligionen* (Leipzig, 1920).

and Mandaism, but also upon the movement of John the Baptist. Within the last year or so other scholars have followed up these indications by discovering a fresh clue to the enigma of the Fourth Gospel in the literature of the Mandaean sect now available.¹ Our present aim is to consider the Gospel according to St. John in relation to contemporary religious movements, and then to ask whether these Mandaean documents offer any further help in solving the problem of its origin and composition.

It has often been pointed out during the last twenty years that while the Fourth Evangelist has one eye on the sacred events in Palestine in the first third of the century, his other eye is fixed on the problems and dangers of the Church in Asia at the end of its last decade. His polemical method is indirect; it works by way of emphasis and omission rather than by direct attack. Let us consider this in reference to sacramentalism, to Gnosticism, and to John the Baptist.²

(a) The two dissimilar, though not contradictory, tendencies which meet one in the Fourth Gospel are the unmistakable allusions to baptism in the third and to the Eucharist in the sixth chapter, and at the same time the conspicuous displacement of the sacraments from their natural and obvious historical relationship to the course

¹ The second edition of Bauer's commentary in Lietzmann's *Handbuch* (Tübingen, 1925) is almost re-written to insert numerous parallels from the Mandaean writings. Bultmann's forthcoming commentary in Meyer's well-known series is in some degree anticipated by two important essays, one contributed to *Gunkel-Festschrift* ('Der religionsgeschichtliche Hintergrund des Prologs zum Johannes-Evangelium'), and the other to *Z. N. T. W.*, 1925, i, pp. 100-46 ('Die Bedeutung der neuerschlossenen mandäischen und manichäischen Quellen für das Verständnis des Johannevangeliums'). Part of this latter essay has been translated into English by Mr. G. R. S. Mead in *The Quest*, January and April 1926.

² The best treatment in English along these lines is that by E. F. Scott, *The Fourth Gospel*, 1906. See esp. chap. iii.

of the narrative. In the long prelude to the Passion, which occupies chapters xiii. to xvii., there is not a word about the institution of the Eucharist, though the Synoptic narrative, with its Pauline expansion, must have been known to the writer. On the other hand, the neglected sacrament of the foot-washing is introduced in its place. There is no word to indicate any apostolic commission to baptize. The baptism of Jesus by John is omitted, and we are told very pointedly that Jesus Himself did not baptize, but His disciples. The use is a rival means of propaganda, in which the disciples outdo the disciples of the Baptist. When, however, we turn from narrative to discourse, the contrast between the Synoptists and John is reversed. It is the Fourth Gospel which seems steeped in sacramental teaching. An ulterior reason for this feature of the Gospel has already been suggested. Forty years have passed since Paul wrote from this very city of Ephesus to Corinth about the Eucharist. His mystical interpretation of the sacraments has hardened into a sacramental theology. The growing influence of the Mysteries and the medley of ideas found in the all-pervading syncretism of Hellenistic religion have infected the members of the Church. We are now well on the way to the time when Ignatius, in writing to this very community, can write of the Eucharist as 'the medicine of immortality.'¹ The writer of this Gospel, like Paul, with whose Asian letters he has so much in common, knows the value of sacraments to the devout and well-instructed soul. He has learnt for years to think at that memorial feast of all the grace that flows from the sacrificial love of Him whose death it calls to mind. For him the Eucharist is indeed a sacrament, i.e. (in Dr. Vernon Bartlet's admirable definition) 'a symbol conditioning a present deeper and decisive experience of divine grace already embraced by faith.' The sacred associations of the symbol

¹ *Ign., ad Eph., xx.* : ἵνα ἄρτον κλῶντες, ὃς ἔστιν φάρμακον ἀθανασίας, ἀντίδοτος τοῦ μὴ ἀποθανεῖν, ἀλλὰ ζῆν ἐν Ἰησοῦ Χριστῷ διὰ παντός.

have gained an added wealth with the passing years. And yet he sees the perils of a quasi-materialistic doctrine of the sacraments which is steadily establishing itself in the new generation of believers. In keeping with his invariable method, his criticism is subtle and by way of oblique suggestion. The historical authority for sacramental institutions is silently, but significantly, left out. But, lest too severe a blow should be dealt at the sacred symbols, their true place is indicated in the allegorical language of the third and sixth chapters. The feeding of the multitude leads to the allegory of the Bread of Life which feeds the world. The exposition of the allegory is in unmistakably spiritual terms. Then the Eucharistic allusions are introduced: 'The bread that I will give is My flesh, which I give for the life of the world'; 'Except ye eat the flesh of the Son of Man, and drink His blood, ye have no life in you'; 'He that eateth My flesh and drinketh My blood dwelleth in Me, and I in him.' But the very use of such language at this stage in the ministry of Jesus suggests a meaning apart from a rite which was still in the unseen future, and would only symbolize truths and experiences which have their home in a supra-sensuous sphere. To make sure that this spiritual or allegorical language will not be translated literally, a final warning against this peril closes the discourse, 'It is the spirit that quickeneth; the flesh profiteth nothing.' The same purpose seems to lie behind the conversation with Nicodemus. Ideas have developed since the Synoptic Gospels were written. 'Except ye turn and become as little children ye shall in no wise enter into the Kingdom of Heaven' has grown into, 'Except a man be born anew he cannot see the Kingdom of God.' The conception of *άναγέννησις*, cognate to the *παλινγενεσία* of the Pastorals, is very frequent in the Mysteries, as Reitzenstein has shown.¹ And the metaphor of 'seeing' the Kingdom of God may conceivably have some connexion with the *ἐποπτεία*, which

¹ *Die hellen. Myst.*, 32, 109-10.

is the glorious climax in the experience of the initiate, though the use of the verb *βαίνειν* puts us on our guard against a too hasty assumption of this. At any rate, the repetition and extension of the thought is significant: 'Except a man be born of water and the Spirit he cannot enter into the Kingdom of God.' As in the sixth chapter, there seems to be a warning against undue reliance upon the mechanical operation of the rite in the special stress which is laid upon the spontaneous activity of the Spirit.

(b) Gnosticism is the name given to a widespread movement of religious thought which was formerly regarded as a heretical development of Christian theology, but is now known to have been in existence before the rise of Christianity. It may be described as a sort of primitive theosophy. It was an amalgam of beliefs and speculations drawn from many sources, Oriental and Hellenistic. Its chief notes were a reliance on secret revelation as a source of religious knowledge; a dualistic and mythological explanation of the origin of evil, and therefore of the created universe; a mythological redeemer to meet the situation thus produced; intermediaries between God and the world; and a contempt for the body.¹ In Christianized Gnosticism we generally find a bitter antagonism towards the Old Testament and the God revealed in it. There is also a tendency to deny the true humanity of Jesus, regarding His bodily life as a semblance, or else teaching that His spirit entered the body of some human being at His baptism and left it before the crucifixion. Now, it is very hard to avoid the many evidences in the Fourth Gospel of an anti-Gnostic aim. Words which had acquired a technical flavour in Gnostic circles are evaded. There are sentences in the Prologue which seem specially designed to contradict Gnostic errors

¹ For Gnosticism, see Edwyn Bevan, *Hellenism and Christianity*, chaps. iv. and v.; W. Bousset, art. 'Gnosticism' in *Ency. Brit.*, 11th ed. The same writer's *Die Hauptprobleme der Gnosis*, an epoch-making book, is at present out of print.

about the creation, and about the human life of the Redeemer. The account of the crucifixion emphasizes the reality of the physical fact of His death. If we go beyond the Gospel to the Epistle which is so closely bound up with it we find this impression is deepened.

(c) But one of the most marked distinctions between the Synoptics and John is that the treatment of the Baptist in the Fourth Gospel is astonishingly different. Here we have no account of a heroic figure carrying on a great reform movement, but see simply a herald of Jesus. He proclaims his own decline before the growing majesty of the Messiah, whose way he has come to prepare. There is not a word to suggest that Jesus submitted to baptism at the hands of John. He declares and reiterates that he is not the Messiah, but that he knows by special revelation that Jesus is the Son of God, and will baptize with the Holy Spirit. The perplexity which moves the Baptist to send an embassy to Jesus, to find out if He really is the Coming One or whether they are to look for another, is not so much as named by this evangelist.

These three features of the Gospel have often been pointed out, as well as others, to indicate the kind of environment in which the Fourth Gospel was written. The obvious inference seems to be that amongst the dangers that beset the Church at Ephesus was an excessive reliance on sacramental rites, a pre-occupation with Gnostic ideas, and the assertion of claims on behalf of John the Baptist which threaten the supreme place of Jesus in Christian thought and honour. We are at once reminded of two incidents recorded in the Acts of the Apostles which show that, in the middle of the century, disciples of John the Baptist were at Ephesus who knew little about Christ, but after further instruction were baptized into the name of the Lord Jesus. A curious third-century writing, the Clementine Recognitions, bears witness to the existence of such a sect, in antagonism to the Church, proclaiming the Baptist to

be the Christ.¹ It is surprising to find such an independent John the Baptist sect in being so long after we might suppose that this movement had been merged in the Christian Church. But it is still more surprising to learn that to-day, after all these centuries, there are to be found a few thousand members of an ancient Semitic race who are faithful to a religion which goes back to the cult of John the Baptist. These Mandaean^s are to be found in communities on the lower Euphrates and the lower Tigris, and also in scattered families farther east in Arabistan and Kuhzistan. There they have been settled from almost the beginning of the Christian era, and, though the people now speak in the Arabic or Persian of their neighbours, their sacred writings, copied and transmitted with wonderful care in the ancient Mandaean script of Aramaic, are recited by the priests at all religious functions.

What do we know about the origin and history of this strange people, of their literature and beliefs?

The outstanding figure in this religion is Māndā d'Hajā (γνῶστις τῆς ζωῆς), i.e. 'secret of life,' and this puts the religion back into the great Gnostic movement about which we have been thinking. From the great honour in which the river Jordan is held, and from continual references to it, it is reasonable to place the original home of Mandaism in Palestine. The implacable hatred of the Jews that bursts out again and again is perhaps explained by the allegory of the Jerusalem maiden who was converted to the

¹ See E. F. Scott, *ibid.*, pp. 79 ff.; Reitzenstein, *Das iran. Erl.*, pp. 126 ff.

The best account in English is the art. 'Mandaean,' in *E. R. E.*, by W. Brandt. A good deal of most valuable information is given by Mr. G. R. S. Mead in his book, *The Gnostic John the Baptizer*. Those who do not read German should feel special gratitude to a scholar who has done so much to mediate the results of German research in this field, even though they cannot follow him in his theosophy.

faith of the Mandaeans and then emigrated to the region of Euphrates.¹ There seems to be a lingering memory of a time when the community was driven out of the land by the Jews in a season of persecution. There are also many passages in the literature which display strong antagonism to Christians, and even to Christ, who is often alluded to as the 'liar.'² So Bousset³ concludes that a sect of Baptists, whose original home was near the Jordan, holding beliefs of a Jewish-Gnostic character with an infusion of Phoenician polytheistic elements, with a mass of garbled Jewish reminiscences, and with a very slight Christian tincture, migrated to the lower Euphrates. There a gradual transformation took place, as this medley of ideas united with strong elements of a Babylonian-Persian syncretism, in which Parsism was predominant. The older conceptions were slowly pushed out by the newer, and the highest point in the development is reached in the tractates on the doctrine of the King of Light. Here we have an almost pure form of dualistic monotheism, with strong traces of Parsi influence, though Brandt would also discover in this teaching some evidence of a Judaeo-Christian gnosis. The great difficulty that meets us in attempting to read the sacred writings of the Mandaeans is that there is no indication of chronological order, but a most bewildering variety of ideas from the most diverse sources and periods of history, assembled with a sublime disregard of internal consistency.

The three chief writings of this Mandaean religion are (a) the *Ginza*, or Treasury, sometimes called the Great Book; (b) the Book of John (the Baptist), and (c) the *Qolasta* (Quintessence), a volume of liturgies for the annual

¹ See Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, pp. 128-38.

² See Lidzbarski, *Ginza*, reff. under 'Christen, Christus,' in the admirable index.

³ See art. 'Die Religion der Mandäer' in *Theol. Rundschau*, xx. (1917), pp. 185-205.

baptismal festival and the service for the dead.¹ For our present purpose it is the second of these which attracts immediate attention, for in it we have a large number of legends about John the Baptist, and teachings ascribed to him. But here we meet with an interesting fact. Internal evidence shows that this Book of John was compiled after A.D. 651, the date of the Mohammedan conquest, whereas in the *Ginza*, the most important of the sacred books, and considerably earlier in date than the Book of John, there is only one reference to John the Baptist, except some allusions in passages bearing marks of later interpolation. This is enough to put us on our guard against a too hasty assumption that any resemblance that can be traced between New Testament ideas or phrases and passages in the Mandaean writings must be put down as instances of borrowing by Christian writers. At the same time, we must always bear in mind the probability that much in these curious writings of a late date goes back to a still earlier tradition. With this precautionary reminder of the fluid state of the Gnostic tradition, let us attempt to see what bearing all this has on the question of the *milieu* in which the writer of the Fourth Gospel shaped his ideas and put them in writing. The space limits of this article allow no general survey of the leading ideas of Mandaism, so reference must be made to Brandt's article in the *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*. Let us try, rather, to take a few of the most striking examples of coincidences of thought and language.

To begin with, one of the dominating conceptions of the Fourth Gospel is that of a pre-existent Son, sent into the world by the Father. Well, it is possible to quote from the

¹ Dr. Mark Lidzbarski's translations of these works into German, with all that the printer's art can furnish, and with invaluable indexes and footnotes, came out in 1925, 1915, and 1920 respectively. I have not seen (c), but believe *Mandäische Liturgien* is Lidzbarski's translation of the *Qolasta*. My own knowledge is confined to the other two books.

late Book of John a passage in which the Father, the Lord of Majesty, speaks to the First, to His son, ' My son, come, be My messenger ; come, be My bearer, and descend for Me to the mutinous earth. Go to the world of darkness, into the darkness in which is no ray of light, to the place of lions, to the abode of accursed leopards. . . .' And there are many other passages in which, from amongst a formidable jumble of mythology, parallels of a kind can be extracted. Then, again, the unity of the Son with the Father can be paralleled, as also the full power with which the Son is entrusted, to give life, to pronounce judgement, to lead men out of darkness into light. He knows His own, and chooses them, but is hated by the world. As He has come, so will He go ; as He has come down, so will He ascend ; then He will be sought and not found. He will be vindicated by His ascension. Before His departure He prays for His own, for whom He has prepared a place for them to dwell in, and He shows them the way. Parallels for all these characteristic ideas in the Fourth Gospel can be found by diligent search, as Professor Bultmann has shown in a famous article, which Mr. Mead has now made accessible to English readers. The evidence is very impressive until we examine all the references in their context, noting the variety of sources from which they come. We then observe that it is by no means always one son of one father of whom these things, or something more or less like them, are said. Quite a variety of messengers are sent from the world of light to the nether world of darkness.¹ There is, however, one consolation in working one's way through the maze of Oriental mythology. Much of it is written in poetic form,

¹ The redemption-myth common to all Gnostic systems corresponds to a cosmological myth, according to which a Primal Being descended from the transcendental world, and was subdued and imprisoned in the world of matter. The Divine Being who is sent from heaven passes through the intervening spheres, enters into the world of darkness, and re-ascends His native heaven, thus opening the way by secret revelation for the imprisoned divinity in men to follow.

and there is often a singular beauty in both thought and rhythm. A few examples will recall some of the great 'I am' passages in the Fourth Gospel :

A shepherd am I who loves his sheep : I keep watch over my sheep and my lambs :

Around my neck I carry the sheep, and they wander not from the village.

I bring them unto the fold, the good fold, and then with me they find pasture.

From the mouth of Euphrates, Euphrates the radiant, I brought them wonderful gifts.

No wolf leaps into our fold, and of fierce lion they need not be frightened.

Of the tempest they need not be fearful, and no thief can ever assail us :

No thief breaks into their fold, and of the sword they need stand in no terror.

When my sheep had lain down in peace, and my head on the threshold was lying,

Then opened a cleft in the height, and the thunder thundered behind me.¹

The true envoy am I,
In whom is no lie :
The true one in whom is no lie,
In him is no blemish nor fault.

A vine are we, a vine of life,
A tree which cannot lie :
The tree of praise, whose fragrance stays
All men with breath of life.²

Now, when all allowance has been made for elements that came in later from Babylonian and Persian sources, and when we have recognized that most certainly many Christian phrases and ideas must have made their way

¹ Lidzbarski, *Das Johannesbuch der Mandäer*, pp. 44 ff. The reference to the Euphrates shows that this song belongs to the period after the migration from the Jordan region to Mesopotamia. In that case the borrowing, if such there be, was not on the part of the evangelist.

² *Ginza*, pp. 59 ff.

through Christianized Gnostic channels to the Mandaean community, there is enough reason to think that a Palestinian community of pre-Christian Gnostics came into some sort of contact with the early Church. Bultmann and Reitzenstein go so far as to trace not a few ideas in the Synoptic Gospels to this source.¹ However this may be, one has already seen reason to suspect that the Fourth Gospel had some serious rivals and opponents to refute. What if all three of the controversial aims that we considered meet in one sect of Oriental Gnostics, who had before this time attached themselves to the name of John the Baptist, and were contending that both Jews and Christians were false to his lead? It is even possible that this sect claimed that John the Baptist was the incarnation of the Supreme Mind. There are scholars who think that the Prologue to the Fourth Gospel was originally a document of these Mandaeans, and that the evangelist has literally taken a leaf out of their book and introduced a few lines to turn it against them.² That seems very drastic, and a rather gratuitous hypothesis. Let us, however, look once again at the three points of controversy. Sacramental excess can only be urged against the Mandaeans in their repeated lustrations and baptisms. There might conceivably be a reference to this in John xiii. 10: 'He that is bathed needeth not save to wash his feet, but is clean every whit.' But the earlier explanation of the treatment of this subject seems far more probable than this allusion to the Mandaean type of ritual. It is significant that Professor Gressmann³ says that if we could prove the existence of a pre-Christian kind

¹ See esp. *Ginza*, p. 30; Reitzenstein, *Das mand. Buch d. Herrn d. Grösse*, pp. 60 ff. (cf. Gressmann's review of this essay in *Zeitschrift f. Kirchengeschichte*, xl., p. 188 f.); Bultmann, *Z.N.T.W.*, 1925, p. 110.

² See Bultmann's essay in *Gunkel-Festschrift*, ii. 1-26. He regards John i. 6-8, 15, 17 as the evangelist's Christian interpolation.

³ Bousset, *Die Rel. d. Judentums*, 8rd ed., p. 461, n. 1.

of Mandaism we should then be able to prove how it was that Christianity was dominated by sacramental ideas from its beginnings. But he declares that there is not enough evidence of this early form of Mandaism. It is very likely that some of the very same Gnostic ideas which afterwards played a large part in Mandaism were current in such a city as Ephesus, though it is not necessary to connect them with this sect of followers of the Baptist. Only the strong tendency to emphasize the subordination of the Baptist to Christ makes one suspect that there may have been a connexion between the anti-Gnostic and the anti-Baptist motives in the mind of the evangelist. There are those who would remove the Gospel from Ephesus to Syria, and that is where the most revolutionary suggestion has come in. For those who agree with Bultmann throw over the established view that there were two stages in the progress of early Christian thought, Palestinian-Judaic and then Hellenistic. They see two types of Palestinian Christian thought, and attribute the Hellenizing to this Gnostic leaven at work on the soil of Palestine. But this is really to abandon a history of the progress of thought for a theory with the scantiest of evidence to support it. The Synoptic tradition, with the teaching of the early chapters of Acts, forms clearly a primitive stage in Christian thought. In the Pauline letters we trace the effect of his missionary experience in the Gentile world on the sensitive mind of that apostle whose Jewish training was the deepest factor in his life, next to his discovery of the redeeming grace of God in Christ. In the Johannine teaching, side by side with the unmistakably Palestinian tradition of the life of Jesus, we have a development of the Pauline Christology and a sublimation of the primitive eschatology in the mystical doctrine of the spiritual presence of the risen and ascended Christ.

The one thing which these researches have clearly brought to light is that in their conflict with rival systems Christian thinkers found a vocabulary, and even appropriated

forms of thought, to set forth the relation of Jesus to the universe as a whole. Other religious systems drew from the same sources, but analogy is not the same thing as genealogy. There may be many resemblances between the language used of Jesus in the Fourth Gospel and that found in the Mandaean form of Gnosticism. The decisive factor in the contrast, however, is that all through the Gospel it is the historic human life and personal influence of the Lord Jesus which has given confidence in His lordship over the lives and destinies of His lovers and followers. Speculation as to His past springs from knowledge of His human nature, His words, and His deeds. In Mandaean Gnosticism we are moving almost all the time in a region remote from history and actual life. We do not forget the mythical element which played so large a part in the apocalyptic speculations of later Judaism, and all that passed over from that into early Christian thought and symbol. As Bousset well described it in the closing sentence of his great book on the religion of Judaism, 'Judaism was the retort in which the different elements were united and boiled. Then followed by a creative miracle the new formation of the gospel.' There is another figure, however—that of the plant and the soil—which we prefer to use. We look at the dark and tangled undergrowth, the wonderful forms and weird shapes, that flourish there. But out of that same soil there rises the tree of life, whose leaves are for the healing of the nations. The soil has nourished its roots, but it has also drawn life from the sunlight, and from the cleansing winds of God.

W. F. HOWARD.

CHANCE AS A DISCIPLINE

AN outstanding feature of our social life is the extraordinary amount of gambling which is carried on everywhere, in town and country, amongst men and women, boys and girls, in spite of the fact that always the greater part of what is staked is lost. The chairman of the parliamentary committee on the proposal to tax betting said that they all agreed that betting is foolish. If it is merely foolish, is it not therefore morally wrong ?

Its prevalence can be largely explained and understood. It is due to the absence of higher interests, to the dull monotony of factory labour, and the depressing influence of crowded town-life. With an increase of nervous susceptibility there has come no widening spiritual outlook. Some excitement is craved for, and gambling is the surest road to it. We cannot expect much improvement except as both external and internal conditions are lifted to a higher level. But to see why an evil exists is by no means to justify its existence.

In the view of many there is no evil at all. If a man stakes only what he can afford, why should he not amuse himself in this way ? One hears it said, 'After all, business is a gamble, insurance is a gamble, life itself is a gamble.' It is worth while to inquire what truth there may be in such statements, and to try to estimate what place chance has in the whole order of things.

In a non-living world there would be nothing we could properly call chance. Physical law would impartially control everything, and it would not matter what happened to it, one way or another. Chance comes in when you have creatures with an individual life, with varying interests and possibilities of action, living in a world of fixed laws. Man, in the presence of Nature, sets himself to learn its secrets and control its forces. He aims at complete mastery, and has

achieved wonderful success ; but there are contingencies he can never exactly foresee. He has conquered the sea by his ships, but he can never be secure from all the chances of storm and fog and icebergs and currents. He can make machines of a high degree of perfection, but he can never be sure that a rope or an axle will not break and involve him in a dangerous accident. Now in this state of things the function of chance is evidently that of a very salutary discipline. Man seeks to reduce the element of chance here to a minimum, partly by unceasing vigilance, and partly by studying more and more closely the ways of things. Those risks which remain when he has done all in his power to foresee them he faces with courage and cheerfulness. Life has many risks, and it is a great adventure. When Captain Scott was waiting for the end he wrote, ' We took risks, and we knew we took them ; things have come out against us, and therefore we have no cause for complaint, but bow to the will of Providence, determined still to do our best to the last.' There you have the high and right and noble attitude towards chance ; but in gambling you take that element of life which is intended as a discipline and give it a place in which it confounds all discipline. To face bravely inevitable chance has in it great possibilities of moral education, but deliberately to create and multiply chances, merely for the sake of excitement and amusement is to reverse a great educative principle of life. It is like trying to make life work backwards ; for the meaning and value of life lie in its reasoned aims and purposes ; but in gambling the ultimate purpose is attached to the chariot of unreason.

Our human connexions are even more important than our physical surroundings, and here again chance has a very important part to play. If we are at the mercy of accidents from things, still more are we at the mercy of the unforeseen acts of those around us. So often we are at cross-purposes, and the things we strive for are thwarted either consciously or unconsciously by the will of others. How much we are,

outwardly considered, at the mercy of human injustice and selfishness and stupidity ! How often we are tempted to say that we have no chance against them ! An honest man is ruined by an unscrupulous business deal. A workman is thrown out of work because the foreman takes a dislike to him. A business fails and the employees are thrown upon the stream. In such circumstances chance appears in its most baffling forms—nevertheless its value and meaning as discipline are nowhere more conspicuous. In the face of injustice and deceit and all adverse social forces which may work against a man, he may rise, using the chances against him as opportunities of moral victory and progress.

Another word about the function of adventure. 'To the adventurous is due all progress, material and spiritual.' Take as examples great pioneer missionaries like Livingstone and Chalmers, explorers like Scott or Nansen, or the pioneers of aviation. What is their aim, and what their reward, and the results of their doings ? Their aim is to achieve what has not yet been achieved, to discover and explore the unknown. Their reward is in the effort itself, which brings out all that is greatest in their character. If they fail, they bequeath a great example ; if they succeed, they enrich human life for all time. On the other hand, the aim of the gambler is an excitement that is essentially unhealthy. The man who cannot play billiards or golf without having money on it is draining the game of all its real value. He is turning good into evil. If he wins, it is in the form of money only. His skill is prostituted to greed, and what he wins without right someone else loses, equally without right. This so-called 'sport' degrades everything it touches.

Is business a gamble ? Certainly it may be, and doubtless great fortunes have been made by speculation in business ; but it is equally probable that most men who run business in speculative ways end in the bankruptcy court. Moreover, speculation and dishonesty seem to go hand in hand. For the normal, honourable business man the great aim is to avoid

needless risks and eliminate chance as much as possible. He insures his plate-glass windows, his stock, his house, his life. He resists the temptation to wild buying in shifting markets. The farmer plans the cultivation of his fields so that whatever may be the changes of the seasons he may get some adequate return for his labour and outlay. The risks and uncertainties which still remain are to be faced, not recklessly, but with patience, courage, and hope.

Insurance has even been referred to as a form of gambling. You bet the insurance company so much that your house will take fire. If it does not, you lose ; if it does, you win. But this is a complete misuse of language. Insurance is based on the principle that when you are dealing with very large numbers of cases chance is eliminated. The experts can ascertain amongst so many thousands of houses how many are burned down in a year, and what their value is relatively to the whole. These losses are distributed over the whole field, and it can be calculated exactly what premium is necessary to cover the risks. For any individual it may be a matter of chance, but for the insurance company there is something approaching mathematical certainty.

The proper use of money is as a medium of exchange. It represents value in goods or services. In any transaction it ought to represent a fair advantage to both parties. It may be given away or bequeathed, and not always wisely. But a gift may and ought to represent goodwill—love and sacrifice in the giver, and real gain to the receiver. Thus a bet cannot in any way be compared to a free gift. It does not represent goodwill on either side. The winner receives something for which he makes no return whatever, and there is no goodwill on the side of the loser, for he hoped all along to receive what he had no right to. The confusion of standards and values that results from habitual betting is so well known that there is no need to insist on it. If the foundations of value are destroyed we do not wonder that extravagance, thriftlessness, and dishonesty ensue.

The size of a bet has nothing to do with its moral value. If the whole principle of the thing is wrong, a small bet may be more dangerous than a large one. It is a thousand pities that raffling- and guessing-competitions should have become so common in church bazaars and sales. They are expressly forbidden by the Wesleyan Conference ; but it is to be feared that this regulation is thought by some to be absurd. I have heard a highly cultured Christian lady say regretfully, ' It is such an easy way of making money.' One is reminded of the old Roman poet who spoke of the business maxims of his day. ' Get money—honestly if you can, but in any case get money.'

Religion itself has been represented as a gambling transaction, in the much-quoted phrase ' You bet your life there is a God.' No doubt the phrase is only intended as an arresting and vivid figure; but it is none the less unfortunate and misleading, because the central idea is wrong. Faith is a great adventure, but it is not of the nature of a bet. With whom do you make the bet ? Not with yourself: that is impossible in any sense that matters. Not with God: you cannot make a bet on the subject of his existence with one who by the terms of the bet may not exist at all. Not with the Devil ; for if there is no God there is certainly no Devil. And what about the stake ? A man's life may often have depended upon the throw of the dice, that is, his present, physical existence ; but his eternal life and destiny cannot be held as a stake. If there is no God, there is no eternal life, and nothing to stake and nothing to lose ; but if there is a God, the last possibility is that we should find Him by a mere hazard, or that the ultimate issues of life should depend upon a fortunate guess.

Religion is an act of faith and a life of faith, a faith which reaches out towards unseen realities and has great hopes, but it is far removed from chance and guesswork. Faith goes beyond reason, it may be, but never against reason. Rather, it encourages reason to go forward in the right direction.

When we consider the glories of the spring, the miracle of the budding flowers and trees, and the music of the birds, it seems more reasonable to believe that the first cause is a divine spirit, rather than pure chance. When we consider the strange story of human life, its struggles and defeats and efforts for higher things, the nobility and loveliness of this life at its best, the patience and industry of the poor, the glory of motherhood in service and sacrifice, is it more reasonable to believe that it is all a puppet-show with no ultimate meaning, or that these great qualities have an eternal value? Is it more reasonable to see in the highest attainments of human love and sacrifice and enterprise a mere passing wave of energy which will soon be exhausted, or to believe that we are the offspring of a God whose thoughts are higher and His love richer and greater than ours, who has made us for Himself, and whose love and wisdom can never be finally frustrated?

When we consider Jesus, His life of prayer and faith and loving service, His full and gracious experience of fellowship with God and with His brethren, His penetrating and satisfying teaching of the great truths of religion and conduct, His tremendous acceptance of the Cross as the way to victory over the hardness of men's hearts, and then all that has followed since, is it reasonable to set Him aside as a deluded dreamer? No! Acceptance of Jesus is not in the nature of a toss-up, a gamble, hit or miss; it is based on a clear and sober estimate of the true values of life. If He is not right, then chance and unreason are in the very heart of things—and yet they produced *Him*! To represent religion as a gamble is the polar antithesis of the truth. The worship of Luck is the denial of Providence, and the perversion of all the ways of life.

THOMAS STEPHENSON.

EARLY CHURCH GOVERNMENT IN BRITAIN

MODERN scholars are in accord with Mackenzie's dictum that 'The time is past for beginning a history of Britain with the Roman invasion, and for the too oft-repeated assertion that before the Romans reached Britain our ancestors were isolated and half-civilized.' Yet not a long period has elapsed since even that fine writer Arthur Mitchell could speak of the inhabitants being in a state of savagery ; although, to be sure, he uses this term in the restricted sense which he himself defines (op. cit., p. 228, footnote). Yet the general tenor of Mitchell's work, and the particular principles underlying it, would have made that enlightened writer chary of perpetuating this hoary error had not he too been blinded, in part, by preconceptions. Though we as a people may owe a good deal to Roman culture, 'we owe much also to the culture of the British pre-Roman period' (Mackenzie, p. 229). Nor is Mackenzie singular in making the affirmation that more is known about pre-Roman times than about the obscure period of the Anglo-Saxon 'invasions.' J. R. Green's statement that we have only 'late and questionable traditions' (op. cit., p. 25) is true, not only for the fifth century, to which he applied it, but also for earlier and even later times. The method whereby Christianity reached these shores and the time of its arrival are subjects wrapped in the deepest obscurity.

¹ References will be found in the text to the following authorities : Douglas A. Mackenzie, *Ancient Man in Britain* (1922) ; Arthur Mitchell, *Past in the Present* ; J. R. Green, *Making of England* ; C. H. Pearson, *History of England during Early and Middle Ages* ; Coote, *Romans in Britain* ; Elton, *Origins of English History* ; Kemble, *Saxons in England* ; Sharon Turner, *History of Anglo-Saxons* ; Hunt, *English Church from its Foundation to the Norman Conquest* ; Lingard, *History and Antiquities of the Anglo-Saxon Church* ; H. Soames, *Anglo-Saxon Church* ; Wright, *Celt, Roman, and Saxon* ; Rhys, *Celtic Britain* ; George Smith, *Religion of Ancient Britain*.

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'The early history of Rome is not more pregnant with mystery and fable than are the antiquities of the British Church' (Pearson). Harold Bayley, the brilliant and breathless author of *Archaic England*, startles us by his affirmation that Christianity was 'practically indigenous' in these islands (op. cit., p. 865): that there was indeed a 'prehistoric Christianity' (id., p. 820). Whatever is meant by these expressions, doubtless it is something distinct from what is commonly implied by the Christian 'faith,' though affinities of thought between this prehistoric British culture—if Bayley's contention be established—and Jewish Christianity may help to account in some degree for the subsequent adoption by some of the original inhabitants of historico-Christian ideas. Nevertheless, the question of the establishment of Christianity in Britain during Roman times is not to be too lightly decided. Wright (op. cit., p. 296) concludes that it was not so established, because 'not a single trace of the religion of the gospel' has been found in the 'hundreds of Roman sepulchres and graves that have been opened in this country.' Pearson (op. cit., p. 71) agrees that 'scarcely any Christian remains (of Roman times) have been found'; but, without unduly stressing the explanation of the latter writer—that poverty on the one hand and national custom on the other may sufficiently account for this lack of 'funeral inscriptions'—it does not appear unlikely that a literal interpretation of the Mosaic embargo upon 'graven images' may have involved for the sensitive believer of those early times something approaching a taboo respecting symbols of the faith; and as Christianity is a religion without material altars, so its earliest adherents may have been hostile to grave-inscriptions and the like. Wright, however, does not deny that there may have been Christian soldiers with the Roman legionaries, nor that the island may have been visited by Roman merchants who had adopted the faith—nor, even, that there may have been some Christian settlers. These concessions, of course, really

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invalidate the conclusion that the lack of monuments seemingly supports unless, indeed, it is supposed that such individuals were few and their influence negligible. What, however, cannot be doubted, save by one blinded by his own bigotry, is that a Christian system was in operation in England *prior to the Augustinian mission*. It is possible to have honest differences of opinion as to the influence and extent of that system on the one hand, and as to its antecedents and organization on the other. Haddon and Stubbs conclude that there was a Church in Britain before the middle of the third century. Elton says that records of this Church exist 'after the year 386,' and supports the view that it was 'in touch both with Rome and Palestine.' Pearson regards it as 'indubitable' that there was a Church here in the fourth century, and admits that it 'may have existed long before.' Coote, a most interesting, unhackneyed, and challenging historian of the period under review, maintains that after A.D. 324 'the general progress of the faith was rapid and sustained,' and that 'Christianity predominated and prevailed everywhere in the Empire'; hence the 'Romans' of Britain were 'Christians and Catholics at the epoch of the Anglo-Saxon conquest' (op. cit., p. 431). As to the latter statement, it may be sufficient to observe that Pearson contends that Christianity 'was never firmly established in the romanized parts of the island, but existed side by side with paganism as a habit rather than a conviction' (p. 72). These different points of view are further illustrated by the opinion of Coote that there was an abundance of churches, and that 'the island was divided into episcopal dioceses'; whereas Pearson supposes that the Christian population was poor, and its churches few. The latter opinion seems to be shared by S. R. Gardiner, who says that the British Church gave evidence of its weakness in that it took little part either in ecclesiastical legislation or in the creation of a characteristic literature. This judgement overlooks what certainly seems a possibility, that some

evidence may have perished—some of it being destroyed in the interests of what became a rival organization. As to the organization of this earlier group of Churches, whatever its form, it seems to have been exceedingly loosely knit, and very different from the rigid system of later times. Whether it is proper to speak of 'episcopal dioceses' at all seems dubious. It is not without significance that Hunt (while acknowledging the existence of the British Church) should contend that the present established Church owes nothing to the more primitive Church. Yet, rather surprisingly, Hunt allows that our Anglican Church owes much to 'the Church of an Irish people called the Scots.' For, singularly enough, that Scoto-Irish Church 'agreed with the Britons on the Easter question, in wearing the Celtic tonsure', and on other points also differed from Roman usage.' The Irish Church, alike with the British, came under the interdict of Rome. Moreover, the organization of the Irish Church was not episcopal, probably, in the papal sense, nor is there discoverable any servile conformity with Roman ideas.

As far as the present writer is able to appreciate the position of affairs that obtained in the island in those early times, it seems that allowance must be made for tribes still existing in Britain who were pagan. The ancient Celtic civilization had escaped what Mackenzie calls the 'blight' of Roman ambition, at least in some parts of the island. That is to say, the people were not universally romanized. It seems probable that Druidistic ceremonies and beliefs still persisted in remote places. In view of the conservatism of human nature, especially with regard to religious opinions and practices, it seems unlikely that the romanized community had been everywhere and entirely emancipated from classical paganism, though it is amongst this section of the populace that we should look, probably, for any evidences of

¹This is supposed to be a survival of the tonsure of the Druids, *oc. cit.*, p. 6).

Christian life and influence. While admitting the possibility that some unromanized Britons may have been Christians—according to Mackenzie's view, 'The introduction of Christianity had advanced this ancient civilization on new and higher lines'—the present writer rather favours the idea that there was no general conversion of these pagans until the baptism of Edwin.

As to the Anglo-Saxons, Kemble (*op. cit.* vol. i., pp. 24-5) draws the distinction between British tribes to which Christianity was not unknown and German tribes which were still pagan. There seems some evidence for the idea that the 'Britons' did not attempt the conversion of their Saxon neighbours before the arrival of Augustin. The alacrity with which the Saxons embraced Christianity is accounted for by Sharon Turner (*op. cit.*) by the fact that their paganism was fast losing its attractiveness. It would be rather difficult to suppose that the arrogant Teuton would be willing to receive his new faith from people he despised. However, we may need to revise our views of the Anglo-Saxon 'conquests,' which were possibly neither so extensive nor so complete as has been supposed. The Germans then, as in later times, were probably rather given to render excessive homage to 'authority,' and when emissaries arrived from Rome, who branded the British Church as schismatical, and offered to install Saxon nobles¹ as overseers of the faithful in the land, it is not difficult to see that such proposals might be attractive, especially if their acceptance carried political and military consequences that were not disagreeable to those who embraced them.

With the advent² of Augustin we are at once confronted

¹ The fact that Anglican bishops rank as noblemen is suggestive. The writer does not consider the suggestion, sometimes made, that a number of Nonconformist divines should have seats in the Upper House is advisable.

² November 16, 596 (some authorities give 597), when Augustin landed. 'A day ever memorable as the birthday of the English Church' (*Hunt, op. cit.*, p. 28).

with traces of antipathy, rivalry, and hostility between what may be called, not inexactly, the native ecclesia and that rival system which for comparison may be described as 'foreign.' Saxon prelates in 'Italian' sees (if for no other than racial reasons) may be supposed to have looked none too favourably upon other dignitaries of native birth. Yet—to reverse the German proverb—'The air makes the freeman'; and so it came to pass that the overlordship of Rome sat uneasily and fitfully even upon men of Anglo-Saxon blood.

Some of the differences between the 'Old British' and the 'Italian-Saxon' Churches may be studied in the pages of Hunt. He gives a long and illuminating account of the 'Easter Question.' In itself this may be adjudged an unimportant matter, but it is significant for the light it sheds on larger issues. Whether the Church in Britain had been out of touch with Rome for some time, as is alleged, or whatever reason must be assigned, the practices which prevailed here, both as regards the keeping of the paschal feast as well as other customs, differed from what obtained at Rome. With the intervention of Augustin, serious consequences ensued. The story of his interview with the seven 'Welsh' bishops and other native divines has doubtless often been re-told, but, as one of the most celebrated and decisive episodes in history, it merits careful consideration. Soames's manner of relating the incident is revealing. 'On their way they consulted a hermit' highly esteemed for prudence and holiness. "If Augustin," said the recluse, "be a man of God, take his advice." They then urged the difficulty of ascertaining whether he might be such a man or no. "This is not so difficult," they were told. "Our Lord enjoined, TAKE MY YOKE UPON YOU AND LEARN OF

¹If this name may be stressed, the 'bishops,' with some plausibility, may have affinity with the people nicknamed by the Saxons 'Wealas'—perhaps romanized Celts, as distinct from the Brythons, the true aborigines.

²The abbot of their monastery.

ME, FOR I AM MEEK AND LOWLY OF HEART. Now, manage to be at the place of meeting after the foreigner, and if he shall rise at your approach, then you may think him to have learned of Christ. If he should receive you sitting, and show any haughtiness, then maintain your ancient usages" (op. cit., p. 57). Lingard treats the hint of the 'hermit' to the bishops to submit to the demands of Augustin 'if he rose from his seat, to reject them if he did not,' as though it were a mere caprice, rather than the covert expression of a considered judgement, or, to put the matter differently, the action of Augustin is regarded as accidental, with no significance as an exhibition of policy. Yet every person of proper feeling must recognize the action as discourteous. If Augustin had risen to meet the deputation, he thereby would have acknowledged their dignity. To retain his seat looked like the pose of a superior to those regarded as inferiors—and was liable to be regarded as a slight. In any case, what the abbot seems shrewdly to have expected actually occurred. Augustin 'did not deign to lift himself from his chair,' but made known his requirements, namely, that they should keep Easter and baptize according to the Roman manner, and that they should join in preaching to the Angles. Naturally the Britons were disgusted with the courtesy shown toward them, and followed the advice of the 'hermit' to maintain their earlier usages. Soames clearly points out what would have been the outcome of their submission—'they would be next required to acquiesce under his authority.' It is quite clear, therefore, that they did not acknowledge such authority, and, *ipso facto*, neither did they acknowledge the authority of the Roman see. It does not seem, therefore, a large inference to suggest that the organization of the early British Church was not episcopal in the modern sense.

Kemble the historian says it is 'certain that the Church of Christ does not necessarily and indispensably imply that form of ministration or constitution called episcopal.'

He regards such a constitution, however, as a safeguard against the inefficiency of the clergy. It is to be particularly noted that he calls bishops '*Inspectors*,' and such 'superior officers,' in his opinion, can be justified only on the assumption that they are 'charged with the inspection over these persons' (i.e. the clergy). Kemble asserts that 'administration is . . . of far greater importance than constitution.' None the less, as Macaulay observes, 'A good constitution is infinitely better than the best despot,' and, human nature being what it is, the autocracy of an Augustin is only the natural corollary of episcopacy.

Soames thinks that 'National confusions by destroying evidence prevent modern Britain from ascertaining the earlier links in the chain of episcopal succession.' His comment upon the Augustinian mission itself is interesting. 'Britain's ancient Church, which in better days would probably have spurned any Roman attempt at interference (op. cit., p. 27), had been miserably curtailed by the Saxon conquest, in importance and extent. An auspicious opening was now offered . . . for raising on its ruins a new ecclesiastical establishment.' Whatever may be the truth with regard to the 'curtailment' of the old Church by the exploits of the Saxons, the writer offers the evidence above as proof positive that the arrogant attempt at interference was spurned by the leaders of the churchmen in our island. Further, if, as seems at least likely, there are no earlier links in the chain of episcopal succession than those provided by the intervention of Augustin, even complete national stability could not have enabled us to trace them! That a new ecclesiastical structure was raised in England does not seem open to serious dispute. What does seem dubious is that it was raised upon the (entirely hypothetical) ruins of the native system. The important point, however, that Soames recognizes is the *independence* of the original Church, as well as (by implication) its non-papal constitution. For, unless episcopacy is a necessary and indispensable form

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of the constitution of the Christian Church, the fact of the independency of the British constitution would seem to involve the independence and freedom of its ministry ; and that, therefore, its 'orders' were not conformed to those owning allegiance to what is commonly understood by the 'Historic Episcopate.' That a certain accommodation may have grown up subsequently between the two organically separate Churches seems feasible, but, if so, all the advantages were not upon one side. If in course of time the less trammeled native system gave way before the encroachments of the fettered Italian, the latter in absorbing its rival became impregnated with the national spirit of independence. Servitude sits sullenly in the breast of a bishop in Britain. It is not native to our soil, and freedom breathes in the air of England !

CLEMENT ASHLIN WEST.

FIFTY YEARS OF PARLIAMENT¹

THE whole British Empire recognizes its debt to Lord Oxford, and his two volumes will help readers at home and abroad to understand something of the personalities and the problems of that great world of politics in which he has long played so distinguished and honoured a part. They will not find here the record of the Great War, for he has already gone over that ground in *The Genesis of the War*, and Lord Grey of Fallodon has dealt with the period in his *Twenty-five years: 1892-1916*. He says that Mr. Asquith did not go to meet the occasion, but when it came he faced and grasped it. There was no hesitation or wavering. His courage was never shaken in adversity. He took no trouble to secure his own position or to add to his personal reputation. When things went well he was careful to see that his colleagues got all the credit due to them, and if any of them got into trouble he was sure that the Prime Minister would stand by him. That is Viscount Grey's estimate, based on close contact in some of the darkest days of our history.

Lord Oxford's own record opens in 1868, when the leading actors who had dominated the political stage during the first half of Queen Victoria's reign had all bidden it farewell. The scene was clear for Gladstone and Disraeli, who for the next decade, and more, occupied its forefront. Mr. Gladstone formed that year the first of his four Cabinets. He always considered it the best. Lord Clarendon was Foreign Secretary for the fourth time, and set himself to lay the foundations for a permanent European peace. In

¹*Fifty Years of Parliament.* By the Earl of Oxford and Asquith, K.G. Two volumes. With sixteen half-tone plates. (Cassell & Co., 1926.)

1871, a year after his death, Odo Russell, who had married Clarendon's daughter, became British Ambassador at Berlin. Lady Emily was taken aback when Bismarck said to her, 'Never in my life was I more glad to hear of anything than I was to hear of your father's death.' He saw her surprise, and, patting her hand, explained, 'Ach, dear lady, you must not take it like that. What I mean is that, if your father had lived, he would have prevented the war.'

Robert Lowe was Gladstone's Chancellor of the Exchequer in 1868. He was 'personally amiable as well as highly cultured, but a unique gift of sarcasm, coupled with an unlimited and unconcealed contempt for the stupidity of the average man, are not qualities which endear a parliamentarian in the House of Commons.' His finance was sound in the main, but his abortive match tax was a costly vagary.

Lord Oxford gives some interesting specimens of the oratory of fifty years ago, from John Bright, Lord Derby, and Bishop Magee. He pays tribute to the patience and courage with which Disraeli waited for his supreme opportunity, which made him Premier for the second time, in 1874, when he was on the verge of seventy. No man was such a master of phrases. He said in 1873 that the country had 'made up its mind to close this career of *plundering and blundering*,' and warned the people of Scotland to 'leave off mumbling the dry bones of political economy, and munching the remainder biscuit of an effete Liberalism.' At Manchester he spoke for three hours and a quarter in the Free Trade Hall, 'and in an immortal passage he held up to ridicule the plight of an overwrought and worn-out Government, whose "paroxysms had ended in prostration. As I sat opposite the Treasury Bench, the Ministers reminded me of one of those marine landscapes not very unusual on the coasts of South America. You behold a range of exhausted volcanoes. Not a flame flickers on a single pallid crest.

But the situation is still dangerous. There are occasional earthquakes, and ever and anon the dark rumbling of the seas." Mr. Gladstone was at the very top of his powers at this time. Though he talked of sixty as full age for a Premier, he was then sixty-five, and held that commanding office three times more at the ages of seventy-one, seventy-seven, and eighty-three. His speech in April 1877 on the Bulgarian atrocities was in some ways the finest effort of his life. It lasted two and a half hours. Mr. Balfour said, twenty years later, 'As a mere feat of physical endurance it was almost unsurpassed; as a feat of parliamentary courage, parliamentary skill, and parliamentary eloquence, I believe it will always be unsurpassed.' In a later chapter Lord Oxford describes Gladstone's conversation at dinner-parties where they were guests together. The three men of greatest parliamentary courage whom he had known were Peel, Lord John Russell, and Disraeli, who had the most. He said the hardest task he ever had was to deliver an elegy on Disraeli after his death. When he entered the House in 1832 Lord Derby was the chief orator on the Government side. After a good speech from Peel, Parker, Liberal Member for Sheffield, said to Gladstone, 'Your cock will soon be a good match for ours,' meaning Stanley. Cardinal Manning is reported to have said, 'Mr. Gladstone is a substantive who likes to be attended by adjectives, and I am not exactly an adjective.' Lord Oxford calls it 'a very superficial judgement. This was far from being true of him in politics, and still less so in social life, where he was not only a model of courtesy and fine manners, but always ready to give and take on even terms, subject to the natural advantage that Providence had endowed him with all the gifts of a great actor, not excluding (as some foolish people imagined) an excellent sense of humour.'

When Mr. Asquith became Home Secretary in 1892, Mr. Gladstone proposed that his son Herbert should be his Under-Secretary—'a very flattering mark of confidence.

I look back upon the two years, during which we served together in unbroken confidence and co-operation at the House of Commons, as the pleasantest, and in some ways the most satisfactory, in a long administrative life.'

All the stages of the Home Rule struggle are chronicled with the authority of one who took an active part in the long-drawn-out debates.

Lord Oxford was counsel for Parnell with Sir Charles Russell before the Commission, and in the whole of his forensic life never knew anything to compare with it, for sustained dreariness and futile waste of time, lit up, on perhaps five or six days of the 129, with scenes of poignant and unforgettable drama. Sir Charles and he knew from the first that the letters had been forged by Pigott, but months were squandered over obscure incidents before the Court was allowed to approach the only issue which had led to its appointment. For the best part of a year Mr. Asquith saw Parnell three or four times a week. 'He would come to my chambers in the Temple, and sit there *tête-à-tête* for an hour or more at a time. Ostensibly our business was to discuss and provide in advance against the shifting and unexpected phases of the case. But we often digressed to other matters, and, though he was by nature the most reticent and reserved of men, he would sometimes expose, for a few moments at any rate, something of what lay beneath the frost-bound and unresponsive surface.' Yet Lord Oxford is compelled to add that his character and career are, and are likely to remain, one of the unsolved enigmas of history.

When Sir Henry Fowler was raised to the Peerage as Viscount Wolverhampton and became President of the Council, 'King Edward, who shared Queen Victoria's personal regard for Fowler, while assenting to his appointment to this dignified post, wrote to me expressing deep regret at losing his services in the Chancellorship of the Duchy. He was now nearing his eightieth year, and his

days of active political work were over. He was in many ways a remarkable man, and his speech on the Indian Cotton Duties (February 1895) was a parliamentary achievement of a very high order. With his rugged granite face, his organ-like voice, and his air of moral authority, he seemed to have been cut out by nature for a leader of men. A certain constitutional timidity, perhaps due to physical causes, stood in his way. I was much attached to him, as I believe he was to me.'

Mr. Asquith and Mr. Haldane used to give an annual dinner to their friends. Rosebery, John Morley, George Meredith, Charles Bowen, and Balfour were regular guests. The table-talk was delightful. 'Meredith at his best was difficult to beat, and Bowen had a nimbleness of wit and finesse of phrase which were entirely his own. Among the politicians it would not have been easy to find two more accomplished masters of the nuances of conversation than Balfour and Morley.'

Lord Oxford's estimates of his chief contemporaries have peculiar interest. Mr. Chamberlain brought to the political arena a combination of most unusual gifts, and a new type of personality. He was 'the pioneer of a new generation. He brought with him from the world of business and of municipal life a freshness of outlook, a directness of purpose, and a certain impatience of conventional and circuitous methods. He may be said with truth to have introduced and perfected a new style of speaking, equally removed from that of either of the great masters of speech who had then the ear of the House and the nation—Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Bright. If he kept, as a rule, closer to the ground, he rarely digressed, and he never lost his way.'

There was something essentially lovable about Sir William Harcourt. His nature was that of 'a great, breezy, elemental, ungovernable child who had never grown up.' Yet, despite his tenderness and quick sympathy, he was 'an almost impossible colleague, and would have been a wholly

impossible chief.' Morley and he were friends, though they had hardly even a prejudice in common, and their intercourse was chequered by periodic misunderstandings.

All the great parliamentary figures of fifty years pass before us, and all the chief measures are discussed in a way that throws light on the whole history of the period. For two years Lord Oxford was Edward the Seventh's Prime Minister. The King 'treated me with a gracious frankness which made our relationship in very trying and exacting times one, not always of complete agreement, but of unbroken confidence. It was this that lightened a load which I should otherwise have found almost intolerably oppressive.'

Lord Oxford has no doubt that the manners of the House of Commons are much better than they were in pre-democratic days. 'The "scenes," of which the descriptive reporters make so much, are very mild affairs compared with the demonstrations that used to be of frequent occurrence. Matters were, perhaps, at their worst in the years immediately succeeding the passing of the Reform Act in 1832, although Brougham had already compared the House to a menagerie.' The essentials of parliamentary speaking remain much the same, though classical quotations are now out of fashion. There is much about the Cabinet, the salaries of Ministers, and ecclesiastical patronage which it would be hard to find anywhere else.

Lord Oxford told the Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1920 that after eleven years of continuous office as Chancellor of the Exchequer and Prime Minister, he was a much poorer man when he left office than when he entered. £5,000 a year will not enable a Prime Minister to discharge his duties properly. He has to show hospitality, at his own cost, to all sorts and conditions of people, both at home and abroad. When he was Prime Minister the Government Hospitality Fund was established. 'It is generally in charge of the First Commissioner of Works, and

it is very properly resorted to for the entertaining, on a large scale, of distinguished foreigners, and other people whom the State ought, for the time being, to look after during their temporary sojourn in this country. But even with that, which was a relief to the Prime Minister, because he had to do a lot of that entertaining himself in the old days or else nobody did it,' Lord Oxford thinks the Premier underpaid. He feels that all the offices in the inner circle of the Cabinet should have the same salary attached to them. That would make it easier to form a Government and 'would prevent invidious and, for the most part, artificial distinctions being drawn as between the relative status and authority of particular offices.'

The chapter on 'Political Catchwords' has an interest of its own. Disraeli was the great master in this art, though he was a conspicuous plagiarist. The Rev. Hugh Price Hughes is said to have first used 'the Nonconformist conscience' in political controversy, though Oscar Wilde has the phrase in *Lady Windermere's Fan*. Mr. Asquith was asked as to the probability of changes in the re-introduced Budget of 1909, and replied, 'I am afraid that we must *wait and see*.' He used the words again the same day. 'It is curious,' he says, 'that a common colloquialism such as this, casually used to discourage premature curiosity, should have passed for a time into the slang of politics, and even been caricatured into a maxim of policy.'

The volumes well sustain the tribute passed on their author by Lord Carson, who fought him and served under him, and describes him as 'a great Englishman, who bore for many years, under great difficulties, great burdens of State.'

JOHN TELFORD.

Notes and Discussions

THE ROMAN SEE OF THE GALlicAN CHURCH¹

THE Roman Catholic Church claims to be 'one and indefectible'; and to be 'ruled by bishops, who have succeeded to the apostles, and are in communion with and presided over by the Bishop of Rome,' the successor of Peter himself. To him was committed by Christ the supreme government over His Church; 'Ubi Petrus, ibi Ecclesia'—which means that, normally, no one can be a follower of Christ unless he is in obedience to the Pope. The history of the Roman Church throughout the first sixteen centuries is, in the main, the history of the varying fortunes of this claim. In the fourth and fifth centuries Innocent and Leo stepped forth as supreme arbiters in matters of doctrine; in the eleventh century, to Gregory VII, the Pope was lord of the highest secular authorities in Christendom. After Gregory, the struggle between the Pope and the Emperor inspired the hopes and fears of Dante and the passions of three hundred years of bewildering conflict.

In the tenth century the Pope had other rivals besides the Emperor to think about. There were dozens of kings and princes in Western Europe, in any one of whom the Pope might find an ally or a foe; there were the great bishops, each of whom had his own half-feudal relations to his local superior; there were the councils called in the different countries or provinces to discuss order or doctrine, and these might display a dangerous independence towards Rome; there were the monastic orders, whose loyalty could generally be relied upon, but which, when (as in that century) reform was in the air, might gravely embarrass an ecclesiastical court never very anxious to reform its own morals, and which, in the tenth century, was only slowly recovering from a degradation to us almost unthinkable. The Pope's endeavour to maintain a position in which he could say the last word on every subject in which he was interested, in religion or in what we should now call politics, was indeed beset by difficulty; yet it was in this very period that the enormous step forward taken by Gregory was made possible.

Of one portion of this period, important but relatively unfamiliar, Dr. D. W. Lewis has presented us with an acute and painstaking study. He has chosen to confine himself to the second half of the tenth century, and to the fortunes of the Church in France. The chief episode of that period he finds in the deposition of Archbishop Arnulf of Rheims. The story is an unsavoury one. Arnulf had

¹ *The History of the Church in France, A.D. 950-1000.* By D. W. Lewis, D.D. (Epworth Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

* cf. Hall, H. E., *Have Anglicans any right to call themselves Catholics?*

been appointed through the influence of the French king ; and he had opened the city gates to the king's enemies. He was accused of treachery ; but the bishops who tried him in council were unwilling to proceed to extremities, both for the avoidance of scandal and because they were none of them quite certain whether they could do so without the consent of Rome, a consent which was strangely withheld. At last, however, the bishop was induced himself to make a full confession, and to ask for deposition ; whereupon the see was bestowed on his rival Gerbert. Gerbert, however, at once began to cultivate relations with the imperial rival of the king of France, and shortly after was himself made Pope (as Sylvester II) under imperial influence, and promptly forgave Arnulf and reinstated him at Rheims.

The story of this sorry business forms the centre of Dr. Lowis's book ; but out of it, by means of copious extracts from the original ecclesiastical authorities, every word of which he appears to have read and noted, he has constructed a wonderfully vivid picture of the chief characters of the drama, the royal and exalted personages who were as much interested in the trial as the priests concerned, and the political intrigues which swept ecclesiastical sympathies along in their tortuous course ; and, behind all these, the lofty though obscure idea of a Gallican Church, which, recognizing, as every Church must, the decisions of the great councils, should yet acknowledge in the Apostolic See, as we should say, only a strictly constitutional monarchy. Canon Law (of which the most important part was then the Forged Decretals), the text of Scripture (generally grievously misinterpreted), the force of tradition, the glamour of the Roman Church, the real prestige of a reputation for piety and learning, the pathetic longing for some kind of order and justice and peace, both in the Church and the world, all find their place in this struggle, and all are described in such a way that the reader discovers that he is dealing, not with an elaborate 'footnote to history,' but with the forces responsible for the whole structure of the Middle Ages.

The earlier portions of the book, summing up the general history of the period, and the relation of the Church to the Feudal System, are necessary to a proper understanding of the main theme. The later portions describe the doctrinal and politico-ecclesiastical position of the Church as she was emerging out of the Dark Ages. Dr. Lowis does full justice to the courage of men who could dare to hope and work for peace and justice and light in that age of violence and misery ; though we think that further reference to Dr. Coulton (whom he mentions) and his authorities would have resulted in some rather darker colours in his portrait of the Church. But for his attractive portrait of Maiolus, one of the ablest of the Cluniac reformers, and indeed for the whole book, every reader will be unfeignedly grateful to Dr. Lowis. He has performed a very real service to the study of Church history.

W. F. LOFTHOUSE.

CONTEMPORARY PROTESTANTISM

THE Protestantism of Germany is neither moribund nor inert when Church leaders, prominent theologians, experts on social questions, &c.—twenty-eight in all—combine to issue a handsome and costly volume¹ of 820 quarto pages, profusely illustrated, a veritable *édition de luxe*, the subject of thirty lengthy essays being Contemporary Protestantism. It is significant that the title is not Lutheranism, but Protestantism, for neither Zwingli nor Calvin is forgotten. The general impression left upon the reader's mind is that the Evangelical Church Federation in Germany (*Evangelischer Kirchenbund*) has resulted in a revival of their spiritual life, and in a more intense realization of the enhanced difficulties of the task of world-evangelization due to the aftermath of the Great War, and the need for uniting all the forces of Evangelical Protestantism.

In the opening essay, on 'The Life and Spirit of German Protestantism to-day,' Professor Erich Foerster, of Frankfurt-a-M., urges the necessity of tolerance in the interests alike of ecclesiastical and spiritual unity. It is held to be 'a sign of vitality' that Protestantism has been affected by modern scientific discoveries and by the social movements of the age. A world-view of Protestantism is presented in a series of contributions: Bishop Rodhe, of Lund, Sweden, bears witness to the growing feeling of unity amongst the Northern Protestant Churches, namely, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Finland, and Iceland, the bond of unity being Martin Luther. 'The Northern theology has, speaking generally, always appealed to Luther. . . . Every child at school knows something of the history of Luther.' Interesting and detailed information concerning 'American Protestantism' is given by Dr. Adolf Keller, of Zürich. Of special interest is his reference to 'activism,' which, by some European Protestants, especially Lutherans, is regarded as the chief characteristic of the Evangelical Churches in America, and is held to imply a different conception of the nature of the Kingdom of God. Dr. Keller ably replies to this 'surface criticism': the activism which applies its energies to philanthropy and to missions at home and abroad is not to be ascribed to 'national pride,' which assumes a special call to reform the world. Though it has its dangers, it is really faith energizing in love. On the other hand, quietism has its own peculiar perils; amongst them are passive acceptance of things as they are, resulting in 'lack of opposition to the world, which does still lie in the wicked one.'

General Superintendent Dr. Dibelius compresses into twenty-five pages an account of 'Religious Life in England and Scotland.' The work of John Wesley is described as being 'literally of decisive significance' for England. At his death Wesley is said to have left 'a new Church, organized with a rigidity (*Straffheit*) which finds its

¹ *Der Protestantismus der Gegenwart*, unter Mitwirkung führender Persönlichkeiten des kirchlichen und theologisch-wissenschaftlichen Lebens. Herausgegeben von Stadtpfarrer Dr.Theol. G. Schenkel. (Stuttgart: Verlag Friedrich Bohnenberger. xiv., 809 Seiten. Rm. 38-50.)

only counterpart in the Prussian Army.' A few statements regarding present-day Methodism raise a smile, as e.g., 'At the head of each circuit there is a superintendent with monarchical authority (*Vollmacht*)'; the Methodist ideal is also too exclusively identified with revival methods. But a generous appreciation contains this sentence: 'The Methodist organization genially combines intensive dealing with the smallest society and concern for the masses with their distinctive psychology and their peculiar needs.' In what may be called the geographical section of this work there is an instructive article on 'Protestantism in Neo-Latin Countries,' by Pfarrer Kuntz of Strassburg, President of Synod. Much valuable information is given as to the present position of Protestantism in French Switzerland, France, Italy, Belgium, Spain, &c. In these Latin nations Protestants are in a minority; Protestantism is 'not a strong tree, but it is like the vine, which, in these countries, extends its clinging tendrils from tree to tree in order that its precious fruit may ripen in the sun.'

Bishop Nuelson succeeds in giving a succinct yet comprehensive account of 'The Evangelical Free Churches of the World.' In explaining what is meant by the word 'Free,' he expresses a strong preference for 'Voluntary' (*Freiwillig*). A useful threefold classification is made: (1) Churches which have spread from their own country to other lands, and are therefore international; (2) Evangelical Churches in countries where Church and State are separated, and therefore all Churches are Free Churches; (3) Free Churches, confined to their own country, but separated from the National Church, sometimes because of ecclesiastical politics, and sometimes because of differences in doctrine. In the official statistics given, Methodism heads the list with nearly eleven million members and thirty-three million adherents, closely followed, however, by the Baptists.

A second group of essays considers Protestantism from within, and the editor has been successful in securing the co-operation of representatives of different schools of thought. Within the limits of this note it is not possible even to summarize the manifold contents of this section. It must suffice to indicate briefly a few of the subjects dealt with. Evangelical Christianity is expounded, from the Lutheran point of view, by Baron von Pechmann, of Munich, a jurist and the recognized leader of Lutheranism in Bavaria. In glowing words he describes the Christian's relation to God, to the world, and to the Church. The representative of the Reformed doctrine is one of the younger theologians, Professor Emil Brunner, of Zürich. A striking passage shows that both Zwingli and Calvin realized the danger of quietism: 'the Church has a world-mission, not merely in the extensive meaning which is usually given to the word, but also, and above all, in its intensive meaning of world-permeation (*Weltdurchdringung*). The Catholic Church does well to fight for world-dominion, but is wrong in fighting with worldly weapons for domination in this present world. The impulse to world-conquest is an essential element of true faith; for the Christian cannot, for Christ's sake,

endure to behold a world which is not under the dominion of Christ.' The fullest treatment of this theme is, however, in the elaborate essay on 'The Protestant Man,' by Professor Karl Heim, of Tübingen. He recognizes the contrast between 'the active, ever-advancing Calvinistic movement towards world-reform, and the conservative attitude of modern Lutheranism.'

J. G. TASKER.

WESLEY—NEWMAN—AND A THIRD?

As I read Dr. Scott Lidgett's article in this REVIEW for October, in which he compared Wesley and Newman, I wondered whether there might not arise in our day a third leader of a movement great as or, greater than, either the Evangelical Revival or the Oxford Movement. To-day Evangelicals and Anglo-Catholics within the Church of England, Methodists and Roman Catholics outside it, satisfy only a much subdivided portion of the nation. The mass of Englishmen stand by, scarcely comprehending the welter of conflicting beliefs, refusing to be moved by little currents of opinion flowing perhaps to one great stream, perhaps to two—or even three—main channels, perhaps (and this is what they fear) dribbling away into the swamps of superstition and stagnating uselessness. From such a fate Wesley once saved our religious life: Newman perhaps did so again through the medium of the Oxonians whom he influenced. But their work is incomplete. Newman did not connect his doctrine with that of Wesley, despite the fact that both, in their 'unsparing logic' and 'true poetic feeling,' were so typical of the best that Oxford has produced. Another movement is needed to embrace and extend the work of these two. Could Oxford still produce a leader for it?

Pessimists say no. They hear the occupants of St. Mary's pulpit, whence Newman poured forth his reborn faith to rank on rank of eager youth, exhorting Sunday by Sunday the bare pews to pray 'for this University.' College chaplains tell them that undergraduates are so very polite that one can't get hold of them (some are!), and they say that Oxford of to-day is summed up in Mr. Galsworthy's 'White Monkey,' who 'won't be happy till he gets it,' only he doesn't know what it is. They point to the crowds of 'blasés' who pose as sensual hedonists and rifle without satisfaction all the stores of physical and mental diversion for which the life of Oxford provides almost unparalleled opportunities. At the sight of so much cynical selfishness one is tempted to think they are right. Yet doubtless Wesley found a similar state of affairs, and Newman too, for, as Dr. Lidgett said, 'both were profoundly dissatisfied'; not with a weary, satiated dissatisfaction, but with that divine discontent that sorrows for the state of this world because it has caught a glimpse of a higher one. To-day there are many men who 'hunger and thirst after righteousness'; and their hunger is a healthy hunger, caused by much exercise of the spirit; their thirst is a healthy thirst; not the craving of the drunkard, whose jaded nature cries only for more of the poison that has made him

what he is. All these are hampered by obsolete forms than which they can yet devise no better, and which puzzle or annoy the multitude that halts between the extremes of Christianity and hedonism.

We of the twentieth century are not more irreligious than our forefathers, but our minds are burdened with a mass of theories, discoveries, experiments : thoughts that would have been unthinkable to them are inseparable from us. The jargon of our science and psychology, our politics, our commerce, and even our home-life, would be Greek to them, and their religious vocabulary is by now Greek to most of us. Only where some touch of the sublime bursts through and stirs a corresponding thought does the man of to-day glimpse the truths for which our ancestors lived and died. Faith is not dead, but in prison and starving. Newman and Wesley were men of faith unconfined.

Reason was also invoked by Wesley, but suspected by Newman. The former lived in the 'Age of Reason,' before the tinsel crown had fallen from that pseudo-classic goddess, and before in her name brave men had dogmatized and become embittered because they had shattered the old truths without building up the new. Newman saw these things, and, as Ruskin cried 'Back to the Gothic and the Mediaeval,' so he cried 'Back to the Age of Faith.' To-day men will agree that 'all irrational religion is false religion' : but at the same time, to them, the *Appeal to Men of Reason and Religion*, unless with the eye of *faith* they can read between the lines, is the most irrational work they have ever thrown down at the end of the third page. They lack the power to look beyond the words of the writer, to the ideas which spring from the ideas there set down. If they turn to Newman and his school they find only the implication that their search for reason is of the Devil ; that there is nothing new under the sun ; let them seek instead 'what always, what everywhere, what by all has been believed.' And they say bitterly that they want to come into a Church, not a museum. They seek salvation, but they are not all Wesleys ; they cannot all cry with a great conviction '*Abba, Father*,' when the Reason to which Wesley appealed leaves them doubting whether there is a Father, and robs them of the power to pray.

Newman believed in a revival of the old Age of Faith—like Tennyson's revival of King Arthur—and indeed the gusts of faith—if not religious, at least idealistic—which were then sweeping over Europe, bringing hope of liberation to down-trodden peoples, and stirring poets, musicians, and philosophers to creation, seemed the prelude to some great awakening. The awakening of 1914 was a terrible shock : that of 1918 and onwards was worse, because it brought disillusionment and doubt—doubt not to be solved as Newman's was, which was the doubt of a man who still could hope. How is any leader to bring hope again to all those who have ceased to hope ? How to rouse again a joyful looking forward to the coming of the Kingdom ? A leader alone will not be enough. Wesley and Newman both joined movements which were already on foot, and,

being their leaders, yet a part of them, they extended them to others. The fellowship of a movement of many men is as essential as the leadership of one great man.

'Modernism' might have become such a movement: but it has not. The movement which is to revive England must produce its great prophet, or develop with him. Where is the great prophet of 'Modernism'? Despite its undoubted services to Christianity, it has thrown away its chance of sweeping all men into a great revival because it has become a party; fought party battles with other parties, committed party errors, and won party triumphs, which have meant the exclusion of much of the work of former great ones. Therefore Modernism is not enough: no leader can base his cause upon a truth less than the truths on which his forerunners based theirs. There are many societies, in Oxford and elsewhere, which follow earnestly after one truth, but seldom after more; wherefore few of them become movements, but tend to replace undoubted religious obligations—to seek self-sufficiency, not to serve truth only. In the union of all truth and the exposure of all falsehood lies the chance of the coming evangelist. He will certainly have to be thoroughly modern, but he will still have to be not only Protestant in his vigorous refusal to surrender his own judgement; he will have to be Catholic in his quest for fellowship and the humility of service which its joys entail. He will have to consider deeply his conscience, his neighbour, and his God, that so he may be led in the way in which others are to follow, each testing his creed in these three lights, which, like the rays of a spectrum, combine to give the light of day.

It seems much to hope that any of the men we see about us in Oxford every day may be one to take up the mantle of the prophets. Yet two of her sons have done it within two centuries: why not a third before this century has run its course? Though the call to so high a task be quiet, still, and low, is there one in Oxford who will hear it—or will the call pass on into the outside world to one who is not an 'Oxford man,' but a Christian, 'to his finger-tips'?

KENNETH BALL.

SOME RECENT FOREIGN BOOKS ON THE NEW TESTAMENT

THE present note is a brief statement of a few books on New Testament subjects that have appeared in the last three years.

Beginning with language and lexicography, two new commentaries by the French scholar, Père Lagrange, deserve mention here, because of their supreme value on the linguistic side. The earlier commentaries on Mark and Luke have now been followed by Matthew (1923) and John (1925). There is no commentary on these Gospels in which such thorough attention is paid to grammatical questions, and the relation of the Greek to underlying Aramaic or Hebrew constructions. In the sphere of formal grammar it is a joy to welcome the second edition of *Neutestamentliche Grammatik* (J. C. B. Mohr,

1925), by Professor Ludwig Radermacher, of Vienna University. This edition gives a mass of new material, and, as before, is very rich in examples from Hellenistic authors and out-of-the-way sources. Even more notable is the appearance of an altogether revised edition of Preuschen's *Griechisch-Deutsches Wörterbuch zu den Schriften des Neuen Testaments*. The first edition was an almost complete disappointment. Since Preuschen's death, some six years ago, the work of revision has been put into the hands of Professor Walter Bauer, of Göttingen, and within the last eighteen months five parts have come out. They cost 2s. 8d. each, and ten parts will complete the work. It is impossible to exaggerate the high quality of this lexicon, which takes into full account the labours of Milligan and Moulton, and makes Grimm-Thayer seem a very antiquated tool. Our only regret is that the publishers (Töpelmann, of Giessen) have reverted from Roman to German type. The same learned editor has recently brought out a greatly enlarged edition of his commentary on the Gospel of John in Lietzmann's *Handbuch zum Neuen Testament*. As indicated in an earlier article in this number, the most striking feature of this revision is the rich material for the student of comparative religious ideas. In the same useful commentary new editions have lately appeared of Klostermann's Mark and Dibelius's Thessalonians and Philippians. At last the long-promised commentary on the Apocalypse has been published. It is edited by Ernst Lohmeyer, recently appointed to a professorship at Breslau. In view of all the discussions which have to be taken into account, this work is a marvel of compression. As with the companion work on the Fourth Gospel, comparative religious ideas are to the fore. It is therefore quite appropriate that the new edition of Bousset's *Religion d. Judentums*, which has been carried through by the eminent Orientalist, Professor Hugo Gressmann, of Berlin University, should have been added to this same series of Lietzmann's, where it will now serve as an admirable complement to the late Paul Wendland's *Die Hellenistisch-Römische Kultur*. While speaking of *Religionsgeschichte* we ought to mention a delightful little pamphlet by Karl Holl, *Urchristentum und Religionsgeschichte* (Bertelsmann, 1925), which gives a singularly fair sketch of the present outlook, with a criticism of some extravagances of the theories in fashion. A very interesting point (brought out incidentally) calls attention to the evidence supplied by one word in *Greek Papyri from Gurob* (ed. by J. G. Smyly, 1921), p. 37. From this it is clear that there was a Mithraeum in the Fayum in the third century B.C. Before passing from commentaries we must allude to 2 Corinthians, newly edited in Meyer's series by H. Windisch (1924), notable for the wide acquaintance its editor shows with English as well as Continental books. Nevertheless, it cannot fill the place that was to have been taken by Johannes Weiss's promised commentary. The first two parts (Aachen to Albrecht von Preussen) of the completely rewritten edition of *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart* have just come out. It is too early to judge whether this revision will come up to the quality of

the original encyclopaedia. The only important New Testament article in these parts is the first section of that on *Abendmahl*. Heitmüller's place is taken this time by K. L. Schmidt, well known for his work on *The Framework of the Gospel Tradition*. While mentioning his name, a word should be said in praise of his pamphlet *Die Stellung d. Apostels Paulus in Urchristentum* (Töpelmann, 1924). Those who wish to know more about the subject with which K. L. Schmidt's name is often associated would find a summary of the views of the leading exponents, with a criticism, in Erich Fascher's *Die formgeschichtliche Methode* (Töpelmann, 1924). A study of the four Gospels on the linguistic side, with special reference to source criticism, is given by Wilhelm Farfeld, of Bonn University, in *Die neutestamentlichen Evangelien nach ihrer Eigenart und Abhängigkeit* (Bertelsmann, 1925). Passing from the critical to the expository, we must not omit mention of the great Strack-Billerbeck commentary. The first volume (1922) was given entirely to Matthew; the second (Mark, Luke, John, Acts; 1924) was quickly followed by the third (1926), which covers the rest of the New Testament. A fourth is to provide excursuses on special points. Nowhere else is so rich a store of rabbinical parallels to be found. On a smaller scale is Paul Fiebig's useful *Jesu Bergpredigt*, a collection of rabbinic texts to help an understanding of the Sermon on the Mount. An appendix gives the quoted passages in unpointed Hebrew (Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1924). Of greater expository value is Bornhäuser's *Die Bergpredigt* (Bertelsmann, 1928). Two lives of Jesus by eminent theologians and critics invite a study in contrast. The well-known Paul Wernle, of Basel University, wrote his in the middle of the war (J. C. B. Mohr, 1916), and the shadow rests heavily upon the author's heart. Ten years after, the rigorous critic, Rudolf Bultmann, who has come under the influence of Karl Barth and his school, has contributed a monograph on Jesus to the series *Die Unsterblichen*, published by the Deutsche Bibliothek, Berlin. We hope to give an account of these two lives of Jesus in the next issue of the REVIEW. Two introductions to the New Testament deserve mention for their remarkable conciseness. A second edition of Rudolf Knopf's *Einführung* was edited after his death by Lietzmann and Weinel, and it succeeds in covering the whole field attempted in Wade's *New Testament History*, in a style intelligible to the interested layman (Töpelmann, 1928). Rather more technical, detailed, restricted, and conservative is Feine's most admirable *Einleitung* (third revised edition, Quelle & Meyer, 1928). We may refer also to the useful handbook of textual criticism by Nestle. The fourth German edition, completely revised by von Dobschütz, is published by Vandenhoeck (1928). In closing, we must commend most highly the two attractive and learned little books by Professor Dibelius in the Sammlung Göschen (1926), *Geschichte der urchristlichen Literatur*.

W. F. HOWARD.

Recent Literature

THEOLOGY AND APOLOGETICS

The New Testament Doctrine of the Christ. By the Rev. A. E. J. Rawlinson, D.D. (Longmans & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

THE Bampton Lectures for 1926 are an attempt to grapple constructively with the work of Bousset and other writers of the so-called *religionsgeschichtliche Schule* in Germany. That school approaches the study of the New Testament from the comparative study of the history of religion as such. 'It sees in the New Testament documents the reflection of a missionary movement, a new, creative, wholly distinctive and original movement of religious life, of which the essence was devotion to Jesus Christ, the exalted Lord, on the basis of the conviction that through Him God had visited and redeemed His people, and that through Him also (and that in the near future) the world would shortly be judged.' Dr. Rawlinson's first lecture is on 'The Jewish Religious Hope.' Israel was looking for much more than deliverance from the yoke of Rome. It was equally a deliverance from sin, and from all unrighteousness. The coming of Jesus represented the supreme tragedy of Judaism. 'The rulers condemned Him; the common people, for the most part, preferred a Messiah of a different type.' The verdict of man was reversed by God, and the rejected Prophet of Galilee was decisively vindicated as Lord and Christ. The conception of Jesus as the Son of God found fruitful development on Gentile-Christian soil at Antioch. In a context of hellenized paganism Jesus might quickly have been accepted as the centre of a cult, as a thaumaturge and prophet on a background of pantheism and polytheism. There was need of St. Paul, 'whose great work was not the hellenization of Christianity, but rather that of proclaiming the gospel in terms of so tremendous an emphasis upon the love, the redemptive activity, and the ethical righteousness of the one true, living, and personal God, as to safeguard for ever the Hebraic inheritance of the Christian religion.' Three lectures are given to 'The Contribution of St. Paul.' The supposed cleavage on Christology and worship between the Christianity of Palestine and of the Gentile-Christian Church is a chimera. It was St. Paul to whom we largely owe that 'progressive self-adaptation to new environments in virtue of which Christianity, through all the phases of successive change, has preserved its essential self-identity from the first age until now.' The closing lectures bring out the teaching of the Pastoral Epistles and the Fourth Gospel. Dr. Rawlinson is confident that the future lies, not with any watered down or attenuated version of Christianity,

but with the full religious faith of the New Testament. His method is both historical and critical, and the lectures will carry with them the growing suffrage of deep and earnest students of Christianity.

The Impassibility of God. By J. K. Mozley, D.D. (Cambridge University Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

The Archbishops' Doctrinal Commission asked Mr. Mozley, in September 1924, to prepare an historical statement on this subject. It grew in his hands, and was finally presented as the thesis for his doctorate in divinity. He traces the history of the doctrine from the Apostolic Fathers, and shows the modern reaction against it. No one who knows Dr. Mozley's writings will need any assurance of its ample knowledge and critical power. He discusses Dr. Marshall Randles's treatise, *Blessed God: Impassibility*, and Dr. Maldwyn Hughes's challenge of that position in *What is the Atonement?* After stating the historical evidence, Dr. Mozley brings out the motives that lie behind the differing views, and states six questions which seem necessary to be answered before the problem of suffering in God can be at all satisfactorily dealt with. The material for a careful consideration of the subject is here, but Dr. Mozley leaves students to draw their own conclusions.

The Economic Background of the Gospels. By F. C. Grant, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 7s. 6d. net.)

The background of history in the Persian and Greek periods, under the Macedonian kings and Herod, and in the first century, singles out the facts which are of economic significance for the study of the Gospels. The economic situation of Palestine in our Lord's lifetime is shown under such aspects as agriculture, labour, trade, government and taxation, &c. We then have 'The Economic Background of the Gospels.' Jesus attached Himself to the movement of hope which the Baptist inspired and sponsored. His whole attitude was averse to political action. He spiritualized the hope of the Kingdom, purged it of its nationalistic limitations, and made it a purely religious concept. He steadily refused to be a social revolutionary, but set before His disciples 'a triumphant and universal, because primarily spiritual, Kingdom of God.' The study is both fresh and suggestive.

The First Age of Christianity. By Ernest F. Scott, D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. 6d. net.)

The Professor of Biblical Theology in Union Theological Seminary, New York, here presents in brief compass the main conclusions reached in the study of the New Testament. He first fills in the historical background in Palestine and the Roman Empire; then he sums up the gospel record, sketches the life and teaching of Jesus, and describes the Primitive Church and the development of New Testament thought. It is a luminous survey from a skilled hand. Dr. Scott holds that it cannot be doubted that Jesus exerted the

healing power ascribed to Him in the Gospels, but says that the miraculous element in His life had a far smaller place than we might infer from our Gospels. Everything leads up to the Cross, and there finds its explanation. 'That ministry of love and service and loyalty to the highest would have missed its crown if it had found any other end.' Fuller critical inquiry has proved that it is quite a mistake to regard Paul as the second founder of Christianity. We do not accept all Dr. Scott's conclusions, but it is an advantage to have them put so lucidly by a master of the subject.

Can We Then Believe? By Charles Gore, D.D. (John Murray. 6s. net.)

Dr. Gore devoted his six White Lectures in St. Paul's Cathedral to a re-statement of his position in his three volumes on *The Reconstruction of Belief*. He gives in his Preface some account of the criticisms passed on those volumes, and of the books he has since been studying. He examines the grounds of the Christian hope presented in the New Testament. The self-disclosure of God, of which the Jews were the vehicles, became universal and final in Jesus Christ. Dr. Gore holds that the real conclusions of science can be fearlessly appropriated, and that minds open to the idea of divine redemption will find the gospel narrative convincing. 'Sacramentalism guards the religion of the common man from the perils of individualism, whether emotional or intellectual.' Underneath the constant change of the world there is a general heart of man which the self-disclosure of God in Christ alone can satisfy. In this unchanging region 'we can hope and strive to bring humanity together in the same faith.' Dr. Gore adds to his six lectures an essay on the relations of religion, theology, and philosophy. He examines the postulates of a Christian philosophy, and concludes that we lack a philosophical expression of the Christian creed which would prove that it is not only in harmony with science, but capable of providing such a 'synoptic rationale of the universe of things, as should make men feel its intellectual glory.' Readers of the bishop's earlier volumes will find much additional light on problems which force themselves on the attention of all Christian thinkers.

Modern Psychology and the Validity of Christian Experience. By Cyril H. Valentine, M.A., Ph.D. (S.P.C.K. 7s. 6d. net.) This is the thesis by which Mr. Valentine gained his doctorate in London University. Dr. Garvie introduces his former student, whose reading in modern psychology has been applied in very convincing fashion to the proof of the validity of Christian experience. The work is divided into four parts: 'The Psychological Challenge to Christian Doctrine and Experience'; 'Christian Doctrine and Psychological Theory'; 'Christian Experience and Psychological Practice'; 'The Philosophical Implication of Christian Doctrine and Experience.' Dr. Valentine shows that Christianity can do for personality all that psychology demands as necessary, and can do it more effectively

than psycho-analysis. 'Nothing short of an adjustment to reality as a whole can satisfy the nature of man. And for such a relationship to be possible, reality must be conceived in terms of a personal God.' We are able to gauge all worth and to measure all achievement by reference to the Incarnation. In revealing the nature of His own reality God chose the form of personality. The revelation of the Incarnation reaches its climax in the redemption of the Cross. 'A Christian metaphysic finds its centre in the morally and spiritually regenerative power of the Cross.' That is the conclusion to which Dr. Valentine leads his readers. The increasing knowledge of reality gained through Christ brings a progressive development of personality and a more satisfactory adjustment, intellectual, moral, and emotional, towards reality as a whole.—*Introduction to the Psychology of Religion*. By Frank S. Hickman. (Abingdon Press. 8s.) This is a book for students which attempts to make the problems of religious experience as clear as possible, and to hold the various methods of their treatment in a well-balanced synthesis. It begins with origin and methods, discusses the structure of religious experience, the personal factor and the genesis and growth of such experience. Chapters are given to the experience of conversion, the struggle against sin, religion as a conduct control. Worship and prayer have a section to themselves, and the closing part of the work is devoted to psychological aspects of religious beliefs, which include the belief in God and in inspiration. Questions for study and discussion, with 'Selected References,' are given at the end of each chapter. The bibliography gives a 'Minimum Working Reference Library' of ten volumes, and a longer list of other works. The book is really a library in itself, clearly arranged in paragraphs which cover the whole ground, and do not lack human interest in handling such subjects as conversion. Students will be grateful for such a lucid and helpful introduction to a vital subject.

The Spirit of Worship. By Friedrich Heiler. (Hodder & Stoughton. 6s. net.) The Dean of Canterbury gives a few particulars of Heiler which add distinctly to the interest of the work by which he is now introduced for the first time to English readers. He was brought up in a Roman Catholic home, but was led to enter the Evangelical Church in 1919, and has been Professor of the History of Comparative Religions at Marburg since 1920. His first chapter, on 'The Revival of Interest in the Church's Worship,' is followed by chapters on united worship in the early Church; the liturgies of the Eastern and Roman and Anglican Churches; Lutheran and Calvinistic service, and kindred subjects. The Lutheran liturgy is described as a work of art which embodies the Lutheran teaching on sin and grace. Calvin adhered closely to the Bible. Herr Heiler thinks that Evangelical piety and theology find their way by unseen channels into Roman Catholicism, and that Protestant spiritual life can no longer remain unaffected by the influence of the great spiritual movements within the Roman Church.

An Outline Introduction to the History of Religion. By Theodore H. Robinson, D.D. (Clarendon Press. 5s. net.) The lecturer on Semitic Languages in University College, Cardiff, helps us to see how religions are born, develop, and die. If a religion is to live, 'it must be able to adapt itself to the whole of human nature, and to the changing needs of successive generations ; above all, it must maintain within itself a real spiritual vitality.' Dr. Robinson holds that Christianity itself can only be rightly appreciated when it is set alongside the world's other faiths. Chapters on Proto-religion, Animism, Polytheism, are followed by studies of philosophy and religion as seen in Hinduism, and philosophical religions such as Buddhism and Confucianism. The teaching of Confucius is magnificent, but it is not religion, and its incompleteness is attested by the hold that Taoism retained and Buddhism won over the Chinese mind. Monotheism includes Zoroastrianism and the religion of Israel, and the final chapters are devoted to Islam and Christianity. No other religion attaches such importance to its historical founder as does Christianity. Jesus is the supreme revelation of God, and the most certain avenue to Him. For Him the Kingdom of God implies the absolute, unchallenged, and unconditional dominance of the Will of God in all things human. It is a broad-minded survey that will be of great service to students of religion.

Theodore of Mopsuestia and Modern Thought. By L. Patterson, B.D. (S.P.C.K. 6s. net.) The School of Antioch has been relatively neglected, owing to the greater prominence of the leaders of the Alexandrian School. It was inductive, and based on the philosophy of Aristotle, whilst that of Alexandria was deductive and Platonic. Theodore, who was Chrysostom's friend and fellow student under Libanius, became Bishop of Mopsuestia, in Cilicia, in 392, and held that see till his death in 428. He is the best representative of the School of Antioch, which Mr. Patterson thinks agrees best with modern science and psychology. His life and works are described, and his teaching is considered under four heads—Anthropology, Christology, Soteriology, and Eschatology. He affirmed the real, though relative, freedom of man, and the inspiring, but not irresistible, grace of God. He grappled with the problem of the two wills as combined in our Lord's incarnate life, and is perfectly certain that the distinction of nature does not destroy the unity of person. Mr. Patterson deals with abstruse questions in a way that makes his book interesting as well as valuable.

The Student Christian Movement provides well for its special circle. *Faith and History*, by J. S. Hoyland, M.A. (5s.), is written by one who feels that the times cry aloud for a new type of historical study and teaching. The history lesson, in conjunction with the Scripture lesson, is a golden opportunity for training the child to become a worthy citizen of the world-state. To see the achievements of humanity as a whole will broaden the outlook, and make men care for the well-being of the human family at large. *The*

Scripture Lesson in the Elementary School, by Helen Woodhouse, D.Phil. (8s.), is a practical guide for teachers which deals with personal preparation, telling a story, the children's part, and kindred subjects. It is based on wide experience, and is very bright and practical.—In *Theology and Life* (4s.) nine writers describe some aspects of the work of the Christian ministry in the modern world. It has grown out of a gathering of theological students at Swanwick in April 1925. Dr. Selbie's paper on 'The Preaching of the Gospel' is inspiriting, and so is the whole book.—The Rev. W. Cotton deals with *The Race Problem in South Africa* (2s. 6d.), which the Rev. E. A. Smith in his Preface says is one of appalling perplexity. He agrees with Mr. Cotton that the only solution is territorial segregation. Mr. Smith is confident that the free advance of the African peoples will in no wise endanger our civilization in Africa, but will really be the main condition of its enduring.—*Christian Fellowship in Thought and Prayer*, by Basil Matthews and Harry Bisseker (2s.), appears in a second and revised edition. 'If the world is to be saved, if Christ's glory is to fill the earth, the broken fellowship must be united; the seamless mystic garment must be woven afresh.' That is the thought underlying this deeply spiritual and persuasive book.—*What it Feels Like*, by 'Doctor Robin' (2s.), makes us understand the life of a medical missionary in China. The letters to a colleague at home are full of incident, and overflow with good spirits and real liking for the Chinese.—*Christian Faith and Social Order*, by W. G. Peck (1s.), has nine studies on 'The Nature of Society,' 'The Incarnation,' 'The Cross,' 'Christian Experience,' &c., followed by a few questions for discussion.—*Studies in the Christian Character*, by F. A. Cockin, M.A. (9d.), is another valuable book for study-circles.—*A Study of World Evangelization*. By David Jenks. (4s. net.) This volume is a survey of missionary enterprise beginning with the first three centuries and coming down to the work of the present day in all parts of the world. It was prepared as a textbook for tutorial classes, and is full of information, both as to the past and the present. 'The rise of Protestant Missions, and the supremacy of the European System, have vitally changed the character of world evangelization.' The duty is realized of giving to every people the gift of Christ in the fullness of His incarnate life. It is a very useful survey, and one that will stimulate missionary zeal wherever it goes.—*Everyday Prayers*. (2s. 6d.) This collection of prayers has been made by a committee for use in schools, clubs, and young people's services. They are brief, varied, and really helpful. The sources are indicated where known, and an index of subjects will assist those who wish to find prayers for special occasions. It is a little book that slips easily into one's pocket.

The Capacity for God (Confessio Credentis). By Robert F. Horton, M.A., D.D. (Allen & Unwin. 7s. 6d.) Dr. Horton regards the master faculty in man as that which puts us into relation with the Power that conceived and made us, and with the Purpose for which we

exist. In a deeply interesting chapter he describes his great ministry of forty-five years. He has walked by faith, not by sight, and it has often been a surprise to him how his subjects came. The Bible and nature cannot contradict each other. He has much to say about salvation by faith, healing by faith, theosophy, and spiritualism. He has learnt that death is always the gate of life, and that by the death of our beloved we are drawn to God and to them. Missions far and near, psychology and faith and kindred subjects, are discussed in a way that leads up to the creed which Dr. Horton can say with all his heart, and in which a great multitude with all their hearts will join him.—*Preaching in Theory and Practice*. By Samuel McComb, D.D. (Oxford University Press. 7s. 6d.) Dr. McComb delivered these lectures to the students at the Episcopal Training College at Cambridge. The preacher has fallen on evil days, but he is persuaded that preaching has yet great days before it. The preacher must gain a new and compelling vision of the age and of the power of his message. He must leave metaphysical questions to the schools, and bring into prominence the truths of history and experience. The subject is freshly handled, and three sermons are given in the appendix and carefully discussed. The first is by Dr. Jowett, and 'the thought is beautiful, and is clothed in beautiful dress.' It is a very helpful work.—*Life and Man*. By T. A. Bowhay. (Jonathan Cape. 9s. net.) The writer holds that Christianity is not one 'of the great religions of the earth, but that *it is a new life, new beyond all other*.' Acceptance of the Christian God means acceptance by the whole of man's nature and with the whole of his powers, with heart and soul and mind and spirit and will. Augustine's converts in England were strong, self-reliant men, who had no sense of the need which Christianity is intended to satisfy, and no attempt was made to rouse them to a consciousness of the need. Within a few years they relapsed, without any external adverse influence, into their original heathen condition. The English Christians of the North raised monasteries to educate themselves to be real Christians, and Yorkshire became a centre of illumination. Charlemagne there found Alcuin, to whom he entrusted the education of the French. The book provokes thought, and its spirit is well expressed in its closing chapter: 'A Christian is one who, because he has the life of Christ in him, develops in the power of that life in him until he lives, in his personal oneness with the Holy Spirit, the life Jesus lived on earth, and the life Jesus now lives with the Father.'—*Through Creative Evolution to Incarnation and the Goal of Humanity*. By J. Gurnhill, B.A., Canon of Lincoln. (Longmans & Co. 4s. 6d. and 6s. 6d. net.) Canon Gurnhill is persuaded that the range and significance of the theory of evolution, and more especially of its working in the realms of physics and metaphysics, of philosophy and religion, have not yet been fully grasped and realized. Behind or within the process of creative evolution there must be some Creative Energy, or First Cause, which sets the process to work and animates and sustains it throughout the whole course of its development. Electricity will

probably be shown to be the basis of matter, but it cannot account for the thinking mind of man, much less for the mind of God, the First Cause. The Canon says that creative evolution has raised mankind to the topmost pinnacle of intellectual, moral, social, and spiritual development, and given man supremacy over all other orders of terrestrial life. The Incarnation has brought new light to men, and made it possible for humanity to reach its goal. The Kingdom of Heaven and everlasting life are opened to men by the Incarnation.—*The Prophet Jonah: The Book and the Sign*. By A. D. Martin. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) This is a literary study which treats of Jonah as a folk-tale, which reaches its fullest literary expression in the expostulation of Jonah when Nineveh is spared. It was written, Mr. Martin thinks, in 'an epoch of religious narrowness and atavistic prophetism,' as a satire upon the contemporary prophetic order and an arraignment of the nation whom the prophets represented. It was probably the work of 'a layman, a man of literary culture and of outlook broadened by travel, with a heart whose affluence included humour and sympathy as far-reaching as that of any mind in the Old Testament.' Mr. Martin's work is full of imagination, and brings out the literary charm of the Book of Jonah in a striking way.

The Epworth Press has just published *A Life of Jesus for Young People*, by R. C. Parkin, (1s. 6d.), which in simple language describes the great story from the cradle to the cross. It is picturesque and instructive ; it brings out the abiding lessons of the life, and above all it will kindle the love of young readers for Christ. It is a Life which no parent or teacher should overlook. It is printed in good type, and has many attractive illustrations.—*Cultivated Nettles*, by J. Leale, M.A. (2s.), give twenty-three arresting stories for boys and girls. They have delighted Mr. Leale's small friends, and other young folk will rejoice over them.—*The Mastership of Jesus*, by Frank Cox (1s. 6d., 2s. 6d.), describes our Lord's mastership as Teacher, Worker, Ruler, and Leader, and gives a set of questions for each chapter, intended for study-circles. The Mastership touches life on every side, and these studies will show what it means to be a disciple.—*Rags*, by Ethel Talbot, is a vivacious and amusing record of the pranks of a little dog.—*The Law of the Lord's Day in the Celtic Church*. By Donald Maclean, D.D. (T. & T. Clark. 4s. net.) This is a study of a Gaelic document which cannot be later than the beginning of the ninth century, but probably carries us back in substance to the time of St. Patrick and St. Columba. It has never before been translated, and gives a glimpse of the social life of the times when shaving, washing, bathing, and a host of other things were forbidden on Sunday under heavy penalties. The document is apparently of Irish origin. Professor Maclean expounds it, and shows that its purpose was to produce a social life of restfulness and reverence. He certainly has given us a very interesting little book.—*High Roads and Cross Roads*. By Archibald Chisholm, D.Litt.

(Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) The nine addresses in this volume show what loyalty to Christ implies in the ordinary affairs of life. 'At the Cross Roads' asks what is the best method of recruiting men and women for the Church of Christ, and makes a suggestive answer. Salvation is described in the next address as a possession and a pursuit. 'When we choose the way of Jesus, a power enters our lives which will bring to fruition the noblest tendencies of our nature, and bring our souls into the way of salvation.' Wealth, sport, books, Church and sacraments, and other subjects are discussed in a way that will be a real help to Christians young and old.—Messrs. Skeffington send us three volumes: *Guidance and Rule* (2s. 6d.), by the Rev. J. B. Lancelot, M.A., gives twelve lectures on the Sermon on the Mount. They are clear and practical throughout.—*Reasonable Christianity* (2s. 6d.) is an old minister's happy attempt to guide thoughtful readers as to fundamental problems of the day. He thinks the greatest danger arises from the denial of the reality of the miracles of our Lord and the apostles. He appeals for greater unity and co-operation between the Church of England and Nonconformists.—*Wisdom from the Wise*, by M. Shack-Sommer (5s.), gives readings for every day of the year. The saint of each day is named with a date, and apt quotations are given. We think it would add to the interest if some words from the saint of the day were incorporated where possible.—*New Testament Women and Problems of To-day*. By Madeline S. Miller. (Methodist Book Concern. 75 cents.) Mrs. Miller deals with the problems of her sex in the light of New Testament teaching. Martha opens a discussion on 'My job and I—do we fit?' Lydia and Priscilla throw light on the question, 'Can I continue my business career and maintain a happy home?' It is all practical, and eminently adapted to the needs of the hour.—*Notable Women of the Bible*. By Annie R. Marble. (Sampson Low, 3s. 6d.) These pen-portraits are skilfully arranged around the home and in patriotic and religious service. There are chapters on 'Wives of the Bible,' 'Mothers in Israel,' and on women as friends and co-workers. They are vivid and interesting sketches, and apt quotations from other writers add to the value of a really useful book.—*Notes on St. John and the Apocalypse*. By Alex. Pallas (Milford. 3s.) St. John's Gospel is written in 'a uniformly homely diction, reproducing in thirty-one instances demotic modern Greek,' and it shows an acquaintance with some historical facts on which Mr. Pallas has striking notes. 'When Jesus bade Peter follow Him, He meant that Peter was to die as He Himself had died.' John is said to have followed, which 'would mean that he also was to die,' and Mr. Pallas therefore holds that in this case the negative had dropped out before 'following.' We do not accept that construction of the incident, but it illustrates the freshness of these notes and the way that they appeal to students of the Greek Testament.—*Happy Youth*, by G. S. Marr, D.Litt. (Allenson, 8s. 6d.), gives thirty-one addresses to young people which are really instructive and well illustrated. Dr. Marr knows how to appeal to the mind and heart.

HISTORY AND BIOGRAPHY

Calendar of State Papers Relating to English Affairs. Preserved principally at Rome in the Vatican Archives and Library. Vol. II., Elizabeth, 1572-8. Edited by J. M. Rigg. (His Majesty's Stationery Office. 30s.)

THE first volume of State Papers which Mr. Rigg edited appeared in 1910, and covered the first years of Queen Elizabeth's reign from 1558 to 1571. The present volume carries the record down through the anxious years that followed the Massacre of St. Bartholomew's. An extended Preface gives a survey of the period, with its plots and intrigues in the Netherlands and in Ireland. The massacre upset the plans for a Catholic League between France and Spain, with the conquest of England as its ulterior object. Mr. Rigg says 'it is likely that, while most of the assassins followed the dictates of blind religious fanaticism, those upon whom rested the ultimate responsibility for the massacre, the Queen Mother and her most trusted advisers, were actuated rather by the counsels of political expediency, being convinced that persistence in a mild policy towards the Huguenots must eventually lead to hostilities between France and Spain, hostilities for which France was ill prepared, and which would probably prove disastrous to her.' A letter from the Nuncio at Madrid to the Cardinal of Como on August 5, 1572, suggests that 'if His Most Christian Majesty should desire to purge the realm of his enemies, now would be the time, because by means of a secret understanding on the part of that King with him the Catholic King, it would be possible to destroy the rest, especially as the Admiral is at Paris, where the people are Catholic and devoted to their King, so that there he could readily, if he wished, rid himself of the Huguenots for ever.' Philip would employ all his resources 'to deliver that realm and restore it to its pristine security and splendour, whereby there would also result safety for his own dominions ; and it seems to His Majesty that it would be a good conjuncture if the Pope would endeavour to persuade His Majesty of France to this course, so that at one and the same time he might compass the deliverance of that realm from that pest, and reduce it to his obedience.' The massacre, of which Guido Lolgi sent a cold-blooded account to Cardinal Farnese, came in that same month, and was celebrated by a *Te Deum* in Rome ; but it did not break, or even bend, the spirit of the Huguenots. That is a specimen of the way in which these State Papers light up the course of history in those troubled days. Their importance cannot well be exaggerated. Mr. Rigg earned the gratitude of all students of the period by his labours in the Vatican Library, and deep regret was felt that his health broke down before he was able to resume his masterly researches. The two volumes, with his fine *Life of Anselm*

and his work for the Selden Society, will be an abiding monument to a scholar of rare gifts and unwearying industry.

The Political Principles of Some Notable Prime Ministers of the Nineteenth Century. Edited by F. J. C. Hearnshaw, M.A., LL.D. (Macmillan & Co. 12s. 6d. net.)

This is a series of eight lectures delivered at King's College, London, and it would be difficult to find an epitome of political history in the nineteenth century more instructive and more interesting. Mr. Temperley looks on Canning as himself a political principle. His victory over the forces of Eldonian and Wellingtonian Toryism was permanent, though at the end of a brief three months 'the nation which had hardly finished rejoicing at his triumph was plunged in sorrow at his death.' Wellington, Sir Charles Oman says, was 'on the whole the most unlucky adventurer in the paths of supreme governance that our political annals can show.' He was suspicious, autocratic, sparing of thanks, ruthless in administering snubs and rebukes, possessed of a very long memory for offences, and a very short memory for services. Sir Robert Peel did more than any man to put an end to the distress and depression which followed the Napoleonic Wars. He took ideas from many others, but put them into a practical and acceptable shape. 'I pique myself,' he told Hastings, 'on never having proposed anything that I have not carried.' Philip Guedella says our knowledge of Palmerston is curiously truncated. Before 1830 he is an obscure figure, then he steps into the broad daylight of history. His training was varied and thorough, and its strands are woven into the skein of his later career. Mr. Reddaway allows us to get close to Lord John Russell as both child and giant. He was the only man who could lead his party in the Commons, yet he brought the Whigs to extinction. His title to greatness rests on the unique service he rendered to England in 1831 and to Italy in 1860. There is no more powerful sketch in the volume than that of Disraeli by the editor. His influence is 'still living and operative, and his memory a flowering evergreen.' Ramsay Muir says Gladstone's was 'a powerful, but never a systematizing, intellect, swept forward into unsuspected courses by a profound moral fervour that welled from the depths of his being and was sustained by a profound religious belief.' Lord Salisbury was self-contained and self-dependent. Mr. Marten compares him to his great ancestor, Lord Burleigh, of whom Queen Elizabeth said that he would not be corrupted with any manner of gifts, but would be faithful to the State and without respect to any private will 'you will give me that counsel that you think best.'

The Mind of Rome. Edited by Cyril Bailey. (Oxford : Clarendon Press. 8s. 6d. net.)

This volume is a companion to Mr. Livingstone's *Pageant of Greece*, and is intended primarily for those who do not read Latin but wish to form some idea of the great Latin authors. It is arranged in three

parts : 'Verse' ; 'Verse and Prose' ; 'Prose' ; and in each section the historical development is clearly brought out. The contributors are Cyril Bailey, J. Bell, J. G. Barrington-Ward, T. F. Higham, A. N. Bryan-Brown, H. E. Butler, Maurice Platnauer, and Charles Singer. The illustrations have been selected by Mr. Johnson, Printer to the University, and include Italian scenes, wall paintings, papyrus letters, and other subjects which add sensibly to the value and interest of the work. The translations are drawn from many sources, and are prefaced and expounded in a way that brings out their beauty and significance. Mr. Bailey's general Introduction calls attention to the fact that 'Mind' was the marked characteristic of Roman literature. The writers were practical rather than imaginative, and set themselves to deal with a problem. Literature was never really popular in Rome ; it was the possession of the educated few who knew Greek and could understand their own literature as an outcome of the Greek. It was never a slavish imitation. From the first it developed its own distinctive qualities. It had a certain practical wisdom, which sometimes took the form of shrewdness. That developed into satire : 'the moral wisdom produces its reflection and criticism, and the shrewdness gives it that touch of irony which is its salt.' The book is a real gift for all who wish to understand the Mind of Rome as seen in its poets, historians, philosophers, and orators.

Origen and His Work. By Eugène de Faye. Authorized Translation by Fred Rothwell. (Allen & Unwin. 5s. net.)

These lectures were given at the University of Upsala, and present a general view of the thought of Origen. Several important doctrines had to be passed over, but Professor de Faye will deal with these in a second volume, now in course of preparation. An important Introduction shows that to Origen was reserved the credit and glory of indissolubly linking vital Christian beliefs on to Greek philosophy, which then held sovereign sway over the minds of men. His master, Clement of Alexandria, was the first Christian to understand the signs of the times, and Origen carried forward his work. The lectures deal with his thought and method ; the doctrine of God ; Cosmology ; Christology ; the doctrine of Redemption ; Final Things, in a way that lights up his complex teaching. He was an enthusiastic admirer of Plato, and had all the alert curiosity of a true son of Hellas. His Christian faith was paramount. Those who regarded him as a heretic were really unable to understand him. His ideas on God and Providence appeal to modern minds. 'God is not the author of evil, under whatsoever form it appears, says Origen after Plato.' Who knows but that 'Origenism will not bring to the Christians of this present age the consoling and luminous message for which they wait ?' Mr. Rothwell is a master of the art of translation, and has made it a pleasure to read these valuable lectures.

The Cambridge Platonists. By F. J. Powicke, M.A., Ph.D. (Dent & Sons. 7s. 6d. net.)

Dr. Powicke makes no pretence that his study is complete, but much research lies behind it, and it is both biographical and critical work of real value and interest. The leaders 'realized with extraordinary vividness that the supreme value and test of religious truth is its power to awaken in men the vision, and to quicken them with the energies, of a divine life.' Tillotson said that Whichcote 'excelled in the virtues of conversation, humanity, gentleness, and humility, a prudent and peaceable and reconciling temper,' and Dr. Powicke illustrates his position by many extracts from his work. John Smith's discourses show his intellectual and spiritual genius, and Matthew Arnold wished that all candidates for Holy Orders would read and digest his great sermon on 'The Excellency and Nobleness of True Religion.' Ralph Cudworth was the most erudite of the group; Culverwel sometimes exalts Reasons as the test of all things, and again regards it as a reluctant slave who must say 'Yes' when he would fain say 'No.' Henry More was a soul compact of light and fire, the most spiritual and mystical of the company. Peter Sterry taught that the Christian law of life is love. His sermons were always concerned with the deep things of the soul. Dr. Powicke's book will well repay careful study.

Omar Khayyám the Poet. By T. H. Weir, D.D. (Murray. 3s. 6d. net.)

This is an addition to The Wisdom of the East Series for which we have been eagerly waiting. It seeks to reach a 'sound opinion' as to what manner of man Omar Khayyám was; it gives a clear account of the text of his poem; and it shows the liberties that Fitzgerald took with the original. 'Anything like a literal translation would be, I think, unreadable.' 'It is an amusement to me to take what liberties I like with these Persians.' Dr. Weir says it would hardly be unfair to set him among those compatriots of Omar who did not dare, or did not care, to own the authorship of their own verses, and so fathered them upon their great predecessor. The stanza which has the daring phrase 'man's forgiveness give, and take,' contains no word found in Omar, and even he would not have dared or wished to pen the last line. 'His nearest equivalent in English is the Herrick of the *Hesperides*, but without anything like his coarseness.' A work written a hundred years after his death describes him as the most talented of the philosophers, atheists, and materialists. The little book will be prized by all lovers of Fitzgerald and of Omar.

The Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem. (H. Milford. 12s. 6d. net.) This is the Report of a Commission appointed by the Government of Palestine to inquire into certain controversies between the Orthodox Patriarchate of Jerusalem and the Arab Orthodox Community. The present troubles arose out of the election of Archbishop

Kleopas as Metropolitan of Nazareth in 1928. He did not satisfy the condition that the Metropolitan must know Arabic, the language of the people of his diocese. The majority of the local community refused to recognize him, and established a Church of their own. The Commissioners were not able to recommend any effective remedy for this unfortunate condition of affairs, but propose that the election of pastoral Metropolitans should henceforth be subject to recognition by the Government. They sympathize with the local population spiritually subject to a clergy alien in race and language, and have tried to secure for the local community constitutional means for the expression of its needs and interests.

Fanny Burney and the Burneys. Edited, with Introduction, by R. Brimley Johnson. (Stanley Paul & Co. 16s. net.) It is good news to lovers of Fanny Burney to learn that Mr. Leverton Harris, whose death we deeply regret, copied the additions to her *Diary and Letters* before the fire at Camilla Lacey. He allowed Mr. Johnson to use these passages from her journals in France, and supplied most of the fine set of illustrations for this volume. There is a genuine Bohemianism about Miss Burney's work, and a combination of eager and strong family affection with a subtle refinement of moral and emotional taste. The new material describes scenes and persons, and expresses opinions altogether omitted from the *Diary*. The style is easier, and more in keeping with her real character. Selections are given from *Camilla*, with a facsimile of two tortured pages of proof. The largest section of the book, consisting of unpublished letters from Susan Burney, is made from a manuscript in the Public Library at Armagh. Susan was 'the peculiar darling of the whole house of Dr. Burney, as well as of his heart,' and her letters set the life of the family in a very attractive light. Briefer sketches are given of Dr. Burney and other members of the family, also of the Worcester Burneys, who were as enterprising and industrious as their more famous cousins. The book is full of interest, and is sure of a warm welcome.

Richard Green Moulton, LL.D., Ph.D. A Memoir by W. F. Moulton. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) Every lover of English literature and of the Bible will want this Memoir. It has been prepared with real discernment by his nephew, and is enriched by a striking tribute from Sir Michael Sadler. Richard was the youngest of the four distinguished sons of James Egan Moulton, and became, Professor Grant thinks, 'the greatest figure in the University Extension World.' Many men and women trace the beginning of a serious study of literature to the day when they heard him lecture on Faust, the Agamemnon, or Job. After eighteen triumphant years of University Extension work, he became Professor of Literature in the new University of Chicago, and proved a true Ambassador between the two English-speaking races. His recitals from the great masters, and especially from the English Bible, gave rare delight to hosts of hearers in both countries. An American admirer said, 'He has shown that it is possible to read extracts from a play better than they are given on

the stage, and at the same time comment on them with a penetrating criticism equal to all the efforts of the study.' The Memoir is a fine tribute to a man who did more than one can tell to elevate public taste on literary subjects on both sides of the Atlantic.

George Unwin: A Memorial Lecture. By G. W. Daniels, M.A. (Longmans & Co. 2s. 6d. net.) Professor Unwin was born in Stockport, gained an open classical scholarship at Lincoln College, was for eight years private secretary to Leonard Courtney, and, after two years spent as Lecturer in Economic History in the University of Edinburgh, found his sphere as Professor of Economic History in the University of Manchester. He held that position with growing influence for more than fourteen years, till his death in 1925 at the age of fifty-five. He created the first school of economic history in this country, and Professor Daniels gives an account of his teaching which helps us to understand its significance. He had no faith in what is called a strong State policy for the advancement of economic development. He held that the main function of the State was to resist anarchic forces while allowing full scope for the operation of those forces that make for orderly progress. To him economic and social problems are at bottom those of human relationships which in the international sphere have to be solved by the growth and interaction of communities, until a world community based upon the principle of fraternity is attained. His colleague gives some glimpses of his humorous conversation, his boundless sympathy for sick friends and students, and his amusing wanderings from room to room at the University, looking for everything which he could possibly mislay. Many of our readers will be the more interested in this gifted professor because he was the son-in-law of their friend, the Rev. Mark Guy Pearse.

British Slavery and its Abolition, 1828-38. By William Law Mathieson. (Longmans & Co. 16s. net.) No adequate account of slavery in our West Indian colonies has been published, and this volume seeks to supply that gap in our historical literature. Dr. Mathieson's Introduction shows that slave labour in the West Indies was mainly employed in the production of sugar, the consumption of which rose from 800,000 lbs. in 1730, to 4,400,000 in 1774. Sugar-planting was an extremely hazardous speculation, and cultivation by slaves was wasteful because of the difficulty of teaching them anything new. The chapter on 'Slavery' pays tribute to the 'Methodists who had a social as well as a religious message. Not only did drunkenness, brawling, and immorality disappear under their influence, but the slaves lived in greater cleanliness and comfort, saved money or spent it more wisely, and "the effect may be discovered in the neatness of their habitations." One planter said, 'Our negroes are now twenty times better servants, and consequently need not one-twentieth part of their former punishment.' Amelioration, 1828-6; Abolition, 1826-38; The Apprenticeship, 1838-8, are described with much impressive detail in this valuable work.

Literary History of Hebrew Grammarians and Lexicographers, Accompanied by Unpublished Texts. By Hartwig Hirschfeld, Ph.D. (Oxford University Press.) This is No. 9 of the Jews' College Publications. The public translator of the Pentateuch into the Aramaic vernacular (Targum) was, in the main, responsible for the earliest attempt at a scientific treatment of the Hebrew language. Rules had to be established for copyists and readers. These formed part of the Halakhah, and were known as the Masorah, which was the work of Palestinian authorities. Vowel signs and diacritical points were introduced in the sixth or seventh century. These and other matters are discussed in a valuable Introduction. The sketches of grammarians and lexicographers which follow bring out the special features of each scholar's work. Up to the beginning of the twelfth century linguistic research kept within the bounds of Arabic speech, and was therefore only available for Spanish Jews. Translations had to be provided, and at a later period Christian grammarians entered the field of Hebrew study with Reuchlin's Hebrew Grammar of 1506. Dr. Hirschfeld's work will be highly prized by Old Testament students.

In London's Shadows. By the Rev. F. L. Jennings, B.Litt. (Heath Cranton. 6s. net.) Six weeks in London's 'down and out' world are described in this moving book. Mr. Jennings had spent a similar fortnight in Newcastle, but in the East End he came into closer touch with the outcasts. He slept in their horrible shelters, acted as sandwich-man, hawker, street-singer, newspaper seller, and musician. He met almost daily a man who had been one of the cleverest physicians in a London hospital, and was now an abject victim to drink and drugs. He knew an actor who used to earn £200 a week, and was now eking out a miserable existence in an East-End shelter. Many newspaper sellers can earn £4 to £6 a week, and some gain as much as £12. If ever he resigns his ministry, Mr. Jennings says he will consider the claims of newspaper-selling as an alternative. The *Morning Post* Home in New Kent Road made a very favourable impression on him, and he was surprised at the many worthy, upright, helpful lives he saw in the slums. 'To gain this intimate touch with the poor of London is to realize something of their love, fortitude, and heroism. They are greater than the wretched circumstances that hedge them in.'

Asoka, by James M. Macphail, M.A., M.D. (Oxford University Press, 2s. 6d. net), is a second edition, revised and enlarged, of a volume in the 'Heritage of India' Series. Asoka stands out in the history of ancient India like some great Himalayan peak. He ascended the throne of his father and grandfather in 274 B.C., and reigned forty years. He was converted to Buddhism about 261 or 260, and his work as monarch, missionary, and scribe is described with knowledge and sympathy.

The Book of the Popes. By Dr. F. J. Bayer. With 686 Illustrations. (Methuen & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) Father Thurston says in his Preface that

this popular handbook, translated from the German by E. M. Lamond, is intended to stimulate curiosity regarding the Papacy. It supplies a complete list of the Popes, with their seals and coins ; their portraits, residences, and tombs. Much interesting information is given which will be welcomed by Roman Catholic readers, and will help Protestants to understand the power of the Papacy. It is certainly a very attractive volume.—*Corrected Texts of Shakespeare*. No. 1 : *The Tempest*. (Simpkin, Marshall. 4s. 6d. net.) The Folio text of *The Tempest* is here 'freely revised, not only in spelling and punctuation, but in everything else appertaining to language as a means of expressing thought ; in fact, in everything but in the thoughts themselves.' The revision is placed side by side with the unaltered text of the Folio, which is 'a fake from beginning to end ; its air of antiquity is assumed, and its language is not the natural language of the author, who could have expressed himself immensely better.' Students will be interested in some points of the revision, but it does not charm us like the unrevised text. Prospero's speech in Scene viii. loses its beauty here.—*The Little Flowers of St. Francis*. (Allenson. 3s. 6d.) This version of the *Fioretti* is based on that issued by the Franciscan Fathers at Upton, which has been carefully revised by Mr. Thomas Okey to bring it into closer conformity with the simplicity of the original. It is clearly printed on India paper, and makes a very attractive edition of a little book that never loses its charm.—Three reprints from the Bulletin of the John Rylands Library are issued by the Manchester University Press. Dr. Mingana writes on *The Early Spread of Christianity in India* (2s. net) ; Dr. Herford on *The Mind of Post-War Germany* (1s. 6d.) ; Dr. Rendel Harris on *The Early Colonists of the Mediterranean* (1s. 6d.) All are of the greatest interest and value.—*Dora Greenwell*. By Constance L. Maynard. *Two Friends*. By Dora Greenwell. (Allenson. 7s. 6d. ; 3s. 6d.) Miss Maynard has given us a new edition of one of Miss Greenwell's most suggestive volumes, with an Introduction which lights up the course of its thought. She has also written a new Life, based, as to its main facts, on the *Memoirs* which appeared in 1885, but enriched by visits to the scenes of her life and conversation with relatives and friends who knew her. Eleven chapters are given to the biography and works of Miss Greenwell, and five to her message. The quaint woodcuts from her *Carmina Crucis* are reproduced. Dora Greenwell evades none of the perplexity and sorrow of life, but her penetrating knowledge, keen sympathy, and her faith, based on personal experience, make her a guide and helper such as our times greatly need.

Pioneers of the Kingdom. By Stanley High. (Abingdon Press. 75 cents.) Twelve bright and freshly presented studies of men and women like Jane Addams, Herbert Hoover, Frances Willard, and Rupert Brooke. The book gives an elective course for young people, and it will inspire them with new zeal and courage.

GENERAL

Words, Ancient and Modern. By Ernest Weekley, M.A.
(John Murray. 5s. net.)

WE owe much to Professor Weekley, and this history of 'words with a past' adds distinctly to our debt. His articles are not merely learned. They have also a welcome touch of fun which befits the subject, and makes the book very much alive. We begin with *Agnostic*, which Huxley was led to frame by thinking of the altar at Athens 'to the Unknown God.' He coined it from the Greek word by analogy with *gnostic*. *Akimbo* makes a very learned and lively article. The second element is evidently *bow*; the first he thinks is *can*, a vessel. *Can-bow* would be a good equivalent for pot-handle. *Raid* is a good old word disinterred by Scott. It is the Scottish form of Anglo-Saxon *rad*, riding, and is connected with the moss-troopers of the Border. *Rummage* goes back to the wine-trade with Bordeaux, where it meant the arranging of casks, &c., in the hold of a ship. Every article in the book throws welcome light on words.

Chambers's Encyclopaedia : A Dictionary of Universal Knowledge. New Edition. Edited by David Patrick, M.A., LL.D. and William Geddie, M.A., B.Sc. Vol. VIII. Penobscot to Saco. 20s.

Chambers's Biographical Dictionary. Edited by W. and J. Geddie. (W. & R. Chambers. 15s.)

The first line of this volume sends most of us to school. Who knows that Penobscot is a river of Maine, with its west branch rising near the Canadian frontier and finding its way as a tidal river into Penobscot Bay? Penshurst, with its three lines, might perhaps complain, though its chief glory as Sir Philip Sidney's birthplace is not forgotten. Pensions and Pentateuch are well up to date, and in Psychology Dr. W. G. Smith deals with a subject that has acquired new interest of late. Railways, by E. R. McDermott, the Reformation, by Professor Hume Brown, put a great store of mechanical and historical information at the service of busy men, and Rome, with its history, topography, and architecture, is made delightfully instructive by Dr. J. P. Steele and Dr. Ashby. It is a volume that will court constant consultation and will repay it.—This second work was originally compiled by Dr. Patrick and F. Hindes Groom, and the new edition has been brought up to date by two skilled editors, who have made it the most compact and complete biographical dictionary in one volume that we have. Long use of the earlier edition has given a high estimate of its value. It includes the great names of all nations and all times. It puts the facts in

the clearest and most concise form, and points out where further information may be obtained. The 'Index of Pseudonyms' is very useful. It is a dictionary that every one ought to get on their shelves as quickly as possible.

Debts and Credits. By Rudyard Kipling. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net). This is a book of wonders. Adam and Eve make us wonder in the first pages, and 'On the Gate' brings us into the company of Death and St. Peter in the weirdest fashion. Nothing is more entralling than 'The Bull that Thought' and struck up a friendship with the old matador who had been a herdsman till the two marched out from the bull-ring together and the great crowd went mad with delight for five minutes. 'The Eye of Allah,' in which Roger Bacon sees the marvels in a drop of water and John of Burgos draws his amazing sketches of the devils that came out of Mary Magdalene and the legion that entered the swine, is one of the most arresting of the many vivid things in the volume. Schoolboys and masters will find endless fun in the 'Propagation of Knowledge,' and lovers of Jane Austen will chuckle over 'The Janeites' and the verses on the lady's marriage in Paradise. There is a world of insight and of worldly wisdom in it all, and a matchless power of turning all things inside out.—*The Silver Spoon.* By John Galsworthy. (Heinemann. 7s. 6d. net.) *The Forsyte Saga* begins again, to the delight of a very wide circle. It starts under a new name. *The White Monkey* came after the *Saga*; now we have *The Silver Spoon*, a fitting title for Fleur Forsyte in the early days of her marriage to Michael Mont. The eleventh baronet is in his cradle, the centre of an adoring circle, of whom his grandfather is not the least absorbed. Soames Forsyte fills a large place in the new *Saga*, and his outburst of indignation against Miss Ferrar leads to stormy scenes. Michael makes a happy change from the publishing firm to the House of Commons. His rôle is juvenile emigration, and his maiden speech wins him a name in Parliament. The chief excitement of the story is the slander trial, in which Fleur wins the day, though her rival, Marjorie Ferrar, holds her own in Society despite the loss of reputation. It is all so real that we seem to go in and out of the circle and share the young member's interest in ex-Service men and in the child-life of Bethnal Green, which supplies one of the brightest scenes in the book. Mr. Galsworthy is as acute an observer, and his irony is as keen as ever, and the new trilogy sets the Forsytes in the midst of modern England and the London of our own day. It is good to get hold of such a masterpiece.—*The Old Bridge.* By William J. Locke. (John Lane. 7s. 6d. net.) This is a story that lays hold upon the reader, and keeps him charmed and excited to the end. Perella is the heroine—a little creature with a brave heart and a clear head. Her upbringing in poky London flats; her skill as a copyist of great paintings; her romance with Anthony Blake and its bitter sequel—all are told in a way that makes us share them. Then the lovers make other marriages, and

when fortune seems to be bringing them together Perella sees the motive that has made Sylvester Gayton try to open the door for her happiness, and proves herself more a heroine than ever. Her Professor is as true a hero as his dainty little wife.—*The Moorland Man*, by Ruby C. Ashby (Hodder & Stoughton, 7s. 6d.), lives among the hills of North Yorkshire, and his love for Sophia Challis, the doctor's girl and his own cousin, is a tragedy. The spell of the farm is on Jem, and when he comes back from the Agricultural College at Durham, Sophia has married Charlton Meddlar. Fourteen years leave their mark on the cousins, and the great fire brings the story to a terrible climax. It is powerful and entralling from first to last. Jem and his brother are a strange contrast, and the daily life of the farm is described with evident skill and knowledge. It is a first book, and rich in promise.—*Harmer John*, by Hugh Walpole (Macmillan & Co., 7s. 6d.), is the story of a Swedish gymnastic instructor who takes Polchester by storm and becomes engaged to Maude Penethen, the most beautiful girl in the place. The halcyon days are followed by dire disaster, due to Johansen's zeal for the conversion of a horrible slum into a place fit to live in. He is a man to whom one's heart warms, and Mr. Walpole sets him in his Cathedral environment, with living portraits of dignitaries and humble folk, in a way that is almost alive. It is a story of true heroism, and it gets its reward when the hero has gone beyond all human praise, though he lives in a transformed Seatown. The story is a masterpiece in a difficult and tragic medium.—*Introduction to Sally*. (Macmillan & Co. 7s. 6d. net.) The author of *Elizabeth and her German Garden* appears here in a new rôle. Sally is a beauty who dazzles all who see her. Her student husband is simply spellbound, despite Sally's ill-bred ways. But the girl has a good heart, and when Jocelyn finds how to handle his charmer things begin to look more promising. Her conquest of the old duke, who takes her and Jocelyn under his wing, is a bit of pure romance, and so indeed is the whole story. The husband's mother is an attractive figure, and her love-story is going to end well when the curtain falls.—*Beauty's Bondsman*. By Joseph Dawson. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) Sir Gerald Blunden estranges his only son by selling the most beautiful part of his estate to the Clarendon Coal and Ironstone Company, and Walter goes to London to make his way as an artist. He is in love with his beautiful cousin, but she wishes him to consent to the desecration of Gonder Scar and that makes a breach between them. The story is in praise of beauty, and the Vicar's daughter and her narrow-minded suitor make a foil to Walter Blunden and his fine friend Jaspar Domfield, who refuses to have his cottage defaced by a hideous advertisement. Sir Gerald pays a terrible price for his vandalism in the tragedy that involves him and his son. It is a powerful plea for a large-souled view of life and religion.—Mrs. Thompson's *According to Lizer-Ann* (Epworth Press, 2s. net) will open many eyes to the graces found in lowly lives. Each of the seven stories has its own charm. Humour and pathos play

their part most effectively in lighting up the scene.—*The Sinister Shadow*, by Silas K. Hocking (Sampson Low, Marston & Co., 3s. 6d. net), is both a detective-story and a love-story. The trial scene, when the clever barrister unmasks a horrible plot against an innocent girl, is exciting, and the barrister's love-making has a flavour of its own. It is a lively story, and all ends well save for the villain of the piece, whom it leaves in the hands of Scotland Yard.—*The Grasshopper, and Other Stories*, by Anton Chekhov (Stanley Paul & Co., 2s. 6d.), have been translated from the Russian, with an Introduction on the novelist and his art by A. E. Chamot. Chekhov's father and grandfather were peasant serfs, who bought their freedom in 1841. Life in Russia is described in a vivid and arresting way in these clever stories.

A Tuft of Comet's Hair. By F. W. Boreham. (Epworth Press. 5s. net.) This is a volume which will give rare pleasure to Mr. Boreham's growing host of readers. It is as rich in sympathy and as keen in insight as any of the seventeen volumes that have gone before it, and it has as many surprises. Who would have thought of making friends with 'Doctor Fell' and really learning to like him? We discover that 'Turning the Handle' to open a door is not 'a state formality,' and before we are done we find that there is a right way and a wrong way of approaching the kingdom of heaven. Saul of Tarsus, Martin Luther, and John Wesley all made their approach at first in the wrong way. They simply broke in.—*My Gray Gull, and Other Essays*. By William Valentine Kelley. (Abingdon Press. \$1.50.) Choice and charming are the words that best describe these essays. They have a warm heart and a clear brain behind them, as well as a wealth of incidents and apt quotation. They touch deep chords, and they make love of Christ and love of men and women, and especially of little children, more attractive than ever. Dr. Kelley is a thinker and student at whose feet it is a pleasure to sit, and we grow wiser as essay after essay teaches us the love of everything lovely and of good report.—Another poet of the ministry is the late Bishop Quayle. *A Book of Clouds* (\$2.50) represents a lifetime of study. As a child he looked at the clouds and longed for the dead mother who had passed beyond them. 'As I grew, the clouds still sailed their crafts of snowy sail across the blue sea of my heart.' No one spoke of them to him till he was a man and listened to Ruskin as he read *Frondes Agrestes*. He read all Ruskin's books, and they introduced him to Turner-of-the-Clouds. 'What Turner saw I have been seeing all these blissful years.' The bishop takes us with him among the clouds, and the fifty full-page cloud illustrations enhance the text and make us share the writer's enthusiasm.—*The Garden by the River*. By Thomas Tiplady. (Melrose. 2s. 6d.). Four pleasant reveries about the scenes of childhood and early life. They have an artist's touch, and a delightful sentiment about them from first to last.

Democracy : Its Claims and Perils. By the Bishop of Manchester. (P. S. King & Son. 6d.) This is the second in a series of 'Present-day

Papers,' of which the first, on *Strikes and Lock-outs*, was by Bishop Gore. Dr. Temple says early enthusiasts for Democracy based it on two claims—that the people have an inherent sovereignty and are always right. These claims he repudiates. He finds the real root of Democracy in respect for the individual. Its supreme test will be among the working class, and if it is to emerge worthily there must be a great development of working-class education, so as to make that class zealous for individuality, and must find its strength in spiritual power, not in concern for material benefits. It is a wise and timely paper.—*The Stockholm Conference, 1925.* (H. Milford. 12s. 6d. net.) This official report is edited by the Dean of Canterbury, and is intended to give a permanent account of the Conference. A similar volume is being edited in German by Dr. Adolf Deissmann. It has been impossible to give every speech and paper or to include the reports of commissions and sub-committees, but it is a comprehensive survey of the work of the Conference which covers about 800 pages. The Rev. Henry Carter's paper on 'The Drink Problem in England and Wales' is illustrated by three charts which are reproduced at the end of the volume. The history of the Conference, by Professor Brilioth, the official letter of invitation, the list of delegates, with the sermon by the Bishop of Winchester and the opening addresses, are all included. It is a volume which will deepen and extend the influence of a memorable Conference.—A sixpenny pamphlet, *The Politics of Grace*, by George M. Ll. Davies, is published by the Fellowship of Reconciliation, and is a plea for Christian mediation in industrial and political life, supported by many illustrations from Nature and other fields.—*The World's Classics* have a popularity which grows with every addition to the series, and Robert Louis Stevenson's *Virginibus Puerisque* and *Across the Plains* make a volume rich in good things. It is only two shillings, and the Oxford University Press has had a happy thought in linking youth, with its hopes and pleasures, to maturer life, with its more sober views and purposes. Stevenson seems to hold the key of both realms, and we enter them with delight as he turns it.—*Poems.* By A. Maud Workman. (Stockwell. 4s. 6d.) This is a very full volume, and every poem is clearly and thoughtfully worked out. The dedicatory lines please us, and the opening tribute to Lord Kitchener is forcible. There is much variety in subject and in metre. The continental poems will appeal to travellers, and the devotional verse will enrich many a quiet hour.—The Methodist Diaries are well got up, strongly bound, and printed on superfine paper. The prices run from 1s. 6d. to 2s. 9d. They are both compact and complete. The Vest Diary gives all that some will need; ministers will find every want anticipated in the diaries and pocket-books specially prepared for their use.—Messrs. Pickering and Inglis send us a very attractive set of almanacks and calendars for 1927, ranging from a penny to eighteenpence. The Diary is very neat and strongly bound; the calendars, with texts and thoughts for every day, look very inviting, and will be prized wherever they go.

Periodical Literature

BRITISH

Edinburgh Review (October).—The Bishop of Durham speaks plainly as to the folly of the miners' strike in his article on 'Religion and Economics.' 'No experience seems to teach wisdom, or even caution.' The economic value of moral factors may well be one of the most valuable assets of a business. He quotes Sir Josiah Stamp's well-justified asperity as to the cheap and easy method of handling the industrial question. Perhaps the highest service religion can render is to strengthen personal character under the cruel and waxing strain of the economic process. Dr. C. A. Barber deals in a valuable and enlightening way with 'Problems of Forestry.' We see how important it is to maintain a just balance between population and forests. There is a kind of zoning as we pass from great forests to regions of scanty vegetation and desert. Special attention is drawn to Indian forestry. Dean Inge writes on Mr. Trevelyan's *History of England* and Mr. Horace Hutchinson on Sir Rider Haggard's *Autobiography*.

Hibbert Journal (October).—Professor Sorley's 'Ethical Reflections on Religion,' in the first article, are directed towards the purification of Christian doctrine, especially as regards the doctrine of the Atonement. Most theological students know how unworthy much teaching accounted orthodox on this subject has been, and there will be general sympathy with the plea of the Cambridge Professor that 'the theologian should be able to construct his doctrine of the way to goodness without falsifying history or misunderstanding morality.' Dr. G. F. Barbour's article on 'The Infinite in Religious Experience' is timely in its insistence on the distinction between the 'false' and the 'true' infinite, and his plea for 'an inner counterpoise to the overpowering magnitude and complexity of the external universe.' The article on 'Jesus Barabbas' is in French, written by two French scholars, P. L. Couchoud and R. Stahl. They characterize the Barabbas myth as *bizarre* and *baroque*; the two epithets admirably characterize their own 'theory of the *antijohannique* character of this invented story.' Professor Aulen describes 'Recent Tendencies of Theology from a Swedish Standpoint,' and pleads for constructive work in all Christian countries, 'forward to the universal faith.' Dr. Strömholm of Upsala publishes the second of two articles on the 'Riddle of the New Testament,' which he solves by an attempted reconciliation between what he calls the 'Apostolic' and the 'Stephanic' versions of the gospel story. Professor B. W. Bacon discusses the 'Sources and Method of the Fourth Evangelist,' as they appear to him, viz. 'the free handling of known Synoptic

themes in the interest of apologetic or doctrinal subjects, after the manner of the Platonic dialogues or Stoic diatribes'! Who shall say that we are not far in advance of the benighted Greek Fathers, who found in this supreme document a 'spiritual Gospel.'

We have specified some of the theological articles in this number, but it is rich in varied material, as the following titles will show: 'International Unity,' by Professor J. S. Mackenzie; 'Ethics of Wealth Accumulation,' by A. Mackendrick; 'St. Augustine's attitude to Psychic Phenomena,' by W. Montgomery; 'Consolations of Cicero,' by G. M. Sergaunt; 'The Artist's Impulse,' and 'Intellectual Reaction in France.'

Journal of Theological Studies (July).—Under the heading 'Documents' the Rev. A. Wilbart, O.S.B., publishes the texts of 'certain authentic and hitherto unpublished Easter Sermons of St. Augustine.' Dr. E. A. Lowe gives an account of 'two quires which once formed part' of the Vatican MS. of the Gelasian Sacramentary, illustrated by two facsimile pages. Dr. R. P. Casey deals with the tenets of the Naasenes and Ophites, regarding the latter as the *Epigoni* of the former. Rev. G. Gardner-Smith writes on the date of the Gospel of Peter, which he places *circa* A.D. 90. He regards 'Peter' as a very important witness to the traditions of the Resurrection of our Lord. 'He lived at a time when tradition was still fluid.' Dr. R. R. Ottley argues that that in the well-known ending of Mark xvi. 8 with the words *ἴφοβοῦντο γάρ*, the ending of a sentence with *γάρ* is fairly frequent in Greek. He admits that the imperfect tense of the verb gives the impression of an unfinished narrative. The reviews of books are interesting. We notice that Dr. Maldwyn Hughes reviews *La Reaction Wesleyenne*, by Piette, that Professor Nairne contributes an appreciative notice of the Rev. H. Bett's monograph on Erigena, and that books by Dr. Lofthouse and the Rev. G. W. Thom receive brief but honourable mention.

Expository Times (October and November).—A new volume begins with this number, and it opens well. The Editorial Notes are even more interesting than usual. They deal with characteristic books by Bishop Gore, Dean Inge, Professor J. A. Thomson, and others, and abound in friendly criticism and comment. Professor Curtis expounds the Parable of the Labourers; Mr. F. H. Stead continues his studies in the Psalms; Dean Inge contributes a sermon on 'Private Vices and Public Benefits.' The inevitable article on Francis of Assisi—who this year is being acclaimed everywhere—is written by Dr. J. P. Lilley. The usual expository and sermonic outlines go to make up an excellent number. The November number contains an article by Professor Cadoux on 'Judaism and Universalism in the Gospels' and an instructive paper by Dr. Langdon, Professor of Assyriology at Oxford, on 'Recent Excavations in Mesopotamia, 1918-26.'

Church Quarterly (July).—'Charles Lamb: A Query' pays warm tribute to his work. Miss Oakeley writes on 'The Problem

of Truth in History.' Dean Matthews deals with 'Some recent Tendencies in Philosophy and the Doctrine of the Incarnation.' 'The Person of Christ, and the sense in which Jesus may be called divine still focus the efforts which Christianity constantly makes to understand and to adjust itself to the changing conditions of the intellectual and social environment.' He holds that we must approach the doctrine of the Incarnation from the standpoint of the Logos conception and of Immanent Spirit.

Congregational Quarterly (October).—The editor says: 'We Congregationalists are astonishingly slow to remember and acclaim our great men; sometimes we seem reluctant even to claim them.' Of John Howard they do not seem so much to have heard. Dr. Peel refers to 'Union in Canada.' 'Congregationalists in this country are not disposed to forget themselves so far as to impose a creed on their members, or to limit the administration of Holy Communion to ordained ministers.' Mr. Paull writes on 'Originality in Sermons'; Mr. Darlow on 'The Price of Bibles.' It is a living number.

The Pilgrim (October).—This number is mainly a symposium on a new Spirit in Industry—the need for it, and the way to produce it. Mr. Frank Hodges feels that, of all countries in the world which need uninterrupted industrial peace for the next five or ten years, Great Britain needs it most. He holds that there is just as strong a desire among the working people of this country as among the employers of labour for industrial stability; that workmen only use the weapon of a strike as a last resort; and that they are aware that their own future prosperity is bound up with the well-being of industry, and that high productivity and high wages are alone compatible with national prosperity. Mr. Hodges also holds that, though industry is not such as to provide all the workers with that standard of living at which they constantly aim, as the elements of stability and peace are introduced, better organization can be introduced and the way opened for a progressive improvement in their standard of life.

Holborn Review (October).—This is an excellent number. Professor Humphries opens with an article entitled 'An Attempt at a Constructive Doctrine of the Atonement.' 'Africa in Transformation,' by C. P. Groves, describes Africa as 'rushing with lightning speed from the seclusion of her past into the full glare of the modern world.' A devout and thoughtful paper on 'The Purpose of Evolution in the Light of Christ' is by Alice G. Ikin, M.A., B.Sc. 'Through the Ghetto Walls,' by the Rev. G. Parbrook, deals with Klausner's recent remarkable book on Jesus. But the author well says that the Liberal Jew Montefiore 'gets nearer to the mind and spirit of the great Liberator Jesus' than does the passionate nationalist Klausner. Dr. Peake's Editorial Notes, largely reminiscent of Oxford in the past, are very interesting. It should be added that 'Current Literature' and the 'Reviews of Books' provide the book-loving reader of the *Holborn* with excellent pabulum.

Science Progress (October).—Dr. Hegner writes on Host-Parasites. Spontaneous recovery occurs in many parasitic infections, and alternate periods of latency and relapse may continue over a number of years. This is probably due to changes that occur in both host and parasite in their attempt to counteract resistances built up against each other, or of changes in the parasites' environment due to modification in the physiological state of the host. Professor Mayer contributes an interesting article on 'The Scientific Renaissance.'

Poetry (September) has now become a quarterly instead of a monthly magazine, and is the only quarterly in the British Empire devoted exclusively to lyric and dramatic poetry. In his address at the garden-party of the Empire Poetry League Mr. Chesterton described poetry as 'a more complete and more real human language than our ordinary language,' and imagined a Utopia in which poetry was introduced into ordinary conversation.

AMERICAN

Journal of Religion (September).—The first article consists of an address by Dr. J. H. Tufts on the laying of the corner-stone of Chicago University Chapel. The description of religion that it gives is surely vague enough to please the 'broadest' reader. Professor D. C. Macintosh of Yale undertakes a difficult task in writing on 'The Meaning of God in Modern Religion.' It is impossible to summarize the article, but we may note that in the final synthesis, 'God is viewed as an essentially personal spiritual Life, immanent in and using a cosmic body, and related to human beings both immanently as a higher Life and socially as an ever-present, perfect Friend.' Dr. Stewart G. Cole discusses a subject which needs at least a volume—'What is Religious Experience?'—but the writer is chiefly occupied with questions of religious education. Professor C. A. Bennett seeks to answer the question, What is worship? But his abstract philosophical analysis fails to reach the core of the subject. The last leading article deals with one of the most important religious questions of to-day in America, 'The Interpretation of Protestantism during the Past Quarter-Century.' Professor McNeill of Toronto, in his survey, touches on some features of a great movement.

Harvard Theological Review.—The outstanding feature of the July number is a masterly article on 'The Theology of Crisis,' by Dr. Gustav Krüger, Professor of Church History in Giessen. In lectures delivered in March, 1926, at the Union Theological Seminary, New York, Dr. Krüger described 'a recent movement in German theology.' The theology which had its origin in Karl Barth's 'great book on Paul's Epistle to the Romans' is expounded, together with the views of his associates, Friedrich Gogarten and Emil Brunner. Most instructive is the statement of the contrast between Schleiermacher's theology and the 'dialectical attitude' towards religious

problems which characterizes this modern school of thought. Dr. Krüger says that Barth's *The Word of God and Theology* contains 'the quintessence' of his teaching, and would 'well repay translation into English.' He himself belongs to the younger generation of Ritschians, and his judgement on the theological movement, which he ably summarizes, is: 'We would be duly grateful for the earnestness with which the "Theology of Crisis" probes the uttermost depths of the well of divine truth, but we shall not allow this theology to narrow or cloud our view of the heights and breadths of revelation in nature and in man.'

Anglican Theological Review (July) Lancaster, U.S.A. (H. Milford.)—The first article, signed by Henry Davies, discusses the future of the Episcopal Church in America. The writer contrasts the views of Charles Kingsley, fifty years ago, and those of Dr. Headlam, Bishop of Gloucester, who has just paid a visit to the States. In the course of the article the dangers and drawbacks of the present situation are plainly stated and frankly faced. In the next article, entitled 'The Egyptian Hallel,' H. H. Gowen contributes scholarly and expository notes on Psalms 111 to 117. Other articles are 'Vita S. Brigidae Virginis,' by W. F. Whitman, and 'Aramaic and the Synoptic Problem,' by J. F. Springer. The Editorial 'Notes, Comments, and Problems,' by Dr. Burton S. Easton—whom we take to be the author of the excellent new commentary on St. Luke—are timely and interesting.

Princeton Theological Review—Professor R. D. Wilson continues his exposition of 'The Headings of the Psalms,' in which he runs counter to the conclusions of most modern scholars. Professor Floyd Hamilton, in discussing 'Modern Aspects of the Theory of Evolution,' says that theologians are not opposed to science because they do not believe in evolution, but 'because they believe that there is and can be no real disharmony between the Bible and true science,' therefore evolution is not true science. Other articles are 'Experience and Nature,' by D. S. Gage, and 'The Subjective Side of Salvation,' by F. D. Jenkins.

Methodist Review (New York) (September–October).—A quaint picture of Peter Cartwright and his wife forms a striking frontispiece to this number, and a lively account of the famous backwoods preacher and his compeers is furnished by the Rev. W. S. Matthew. He proposes that 'an equestrian statue of heroic mold' should be erected by the State of Illinois to their memory. A literary paper, 'Hours with Dr. Samuel Johnson,' will attract both those who do and those who do not know their Boswell. Three articles on Mysticism appeal to another type of reader—'The Revival of Mysticism,' by W. K. Anderson, 'Its Reawakening,' by John Moore, and 'Jacob Boehme on the Divine Nature,' by G. Hiller, D.D. Professor König of Bonn contributes an article on 'Recent Misinterpretations of the Psalter.' Many attractive shorter papers appear, under the sections 'Notes and Discussions,' 'The Arena,' &c.

Methodist Quarterly Review (Nashville) (October).—A frontispiece to this number gives an excellent portrait of the late Dr. Geo. R. Stuart, and an appreciative article commemorates the excellencies of a preacher of exceptional popularity and power. The first article, written by J. C. Fain, on 'The Doctrinal Position of Methodism,' opens with the words 'Methodism is not to be thought of as identical with Wesleyism.' We do not know what 'Wesleyism' is, but, as Mr. Fain denounces a 'meticulous acceptance' of doctrinal standards and protests against 'the charge that any dissent from the strict and literal interpretation of the verbiage employed is disloyalty and mischievous duplicity,' we gather that the M.E. Church (South) is moving. The next article, by Dr. Sullivan, on 'The Pulpit and Science,' confirms this impression. Its tone is admirable, with its plea for acceptance of the results of honest scientific investigation, though the writer is perhaps a little too sanguine concerning the future relations of the old faith and the new knowledge.

Christian Union Quarterly (October).—In view of the World Conference on Faith and Order, which is to be held this year in Lausanne, this number is devoted to issues relating to faith, order, polity, and kindred subjects. Dr. Garvie describes the recent conferences between the Church of England and the Free Churches, and maintains that no essential principle of Congregationalism would need to be sacrificed in a United Church such as he describes, as the local Church would be left free to discharge its necessary functions.

FOREIGN

Canadian Journal of Religious Thought (September—October).—Mr. G. L. Hurst has a pleasant paper on 'Christian Literature,' which ranges from Clement of Alexandria to Milton and Pascal. C. V. Pilcher describes Hans Nielsen Hauge as Norway's Wesley. In eight years he kindled a flame which was to light Norway from end to end, and which is still burning. He worked by his tracts and preaching. The rationalistic clergy attacked him, and he was thrown into prison again and again. He died in 1824, at the age of fifty-three.

Calcutta Review (September and October).—Mr. P. Lovett writes on 'Journalism in India.' Its real development dates from the Indian National Congress in 1885, from which time the influence of the Press on the administration of the country and the political education of the intelligentsia has made itself felt with increasing force. Mr. Lovett served his apprenticeship under Henry Curwen, editor of *The Times of India*, and gives many interesting details about Indian journalism. In the October number the departure of Sir William Norris from the Mogul's camp is described, and Mr. Lovett concludes his account of 'Indian Journalism.' As democracy develops in India journalism will become more and more attractive to young lawyers, and Mr. Lovett would like the subject added to the curriculum of Calcutta University.

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